TWO RENAISSANCE EDUCATORS
ALBERTI AND PICCOLOMINI

S. G. SANTAYANA, Ph. D.

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TO MY MOTHER

PREFACE

While pursuing graduate study in History and Philosophy in Harvard and New York universities and later when examining many of the original source materials in sundry European libraries, I became profoundly interested in Alberti and Piccolomini. I was greatly impressed by their modern expositions on education and kindred sciences. Later this treatise served as partial fulfillment of the requirements for a doctorate dissertation at New York University.

I wish to acknowledge my sincere thanks to Dr. Herman Harrell Horne of New York University and to Dr. Robert Francis Seybolt, then of Harvard and now of the University of Illinois, for their inspiring and scholarly suggestions.

I am also indebted to Mr. Frank S. Hyer, president of Whitewater State Teachers College, for his assistance in reading the manuscript and the valuable suggestions he made.

S. G. SANTAYANA.

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I.

INTRODUCTION.

The primary purpose of the present study is to make a detailed investigation of the general and the educational theories of Alberti and Piccolomini.

While a few scholars such as Burckhardt, Symonds, Sandys, Laurie, Walsh, and others mention these men in passing, yet none has stressed their importance as educators. Woodward is a pioneer investigator of this phase of historical research and his studies concerning Alberti and Piccolomini are as far as he has gone very illuminating, yet not sufficiently conclusive on the meritorious achievement in almost every field of endeavor shown by Alberti and Piccolomini. The present writer has found himself much more indebted to Dr. Gerini of Torino University, the greatest authority on Alberti and Piccolomini as educators, than to any other source. Woodward read Gerini and gave a small part of the educational phase of the latters' work to the world.

The chief authority for the subject is throughout Alberti and Piccolomini themselves. Their letters, their essays and treatises and in the case of Piccolomini, in addition, his various biographical, historical and geographical tractates, and that fascinating autobiography covering his Papacy. Moreover, the Commentaries are one long process of self-revelation. From the latter two manuscripts we learn much of contemporary persons and events, but still more of their authors.

The view of life which they set forth is half-cynical, half humorous, and wholly individual. Tolerant of human frailty and keenly alive to natural beauty, both Alberti and Piccol-

omini reveal themselves in their writings as men who have found the world a pleasant place, in spite of drawbacks.

The greater part of Alberti's and Piccolomini's works are to be found in print, but they are scattered among various ecclesiastical, and national and university libraries dating from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century. From these it has been the task of this thesis to unearth them, and the chief merit that is claimed for this study is that it is fundamentally based upon the study of their own writings and utterances. The best available translations will be read, mostly Italian and Latin, the other works of the two writers also in so far as these have any bearing on their educational views or on their theories which are closely related to their educational theories. In addition to the above, a careful survey will be made of analyses and criticisms of Alberti and Piccolomini made by other writers which may throw any additional light on the problem.

II.

THE RELATION OF THE RENAISSANCE TO EDUCATION.

1. *The Social and Economic Conditions of the Period.*

The French word Renaissance means rebirth or revival. It is a convenient term for all the changes in society, law, and government, in science, philosophy and religion, and in literature and art which transformed medieval civilization into that of modernity. The Renaissance thus appears as a gradual development out of the Middle Ages, not as a sudden revolution.

Italy was a land particularly favorable to the growth of learning and the arts. The great cities of Milan, Pisa, Genoa, Padua, Florence and Venice had early succeeded in throwing off their feudal burdens and had become independent, self-governing communities. Democracy flourished in them, as in the old Greek city-states. Noble birth counted for little; a man of ability and ambition might rise to any station of command. The fierce party conflicts within their walls stimulated mental activity and helped to make life full, varied, and intense. Their widespread trade and thriving manufactures made them prosperous. In the widest sense the Renaissance comprehends the revival of literature and art, the progress in philosophy, the discovery of the solar system of Copernicus and Galileo, the extinction of feudalism, the development of the great nationalities and languages of Europe, the emancipation of enslaved intelligence, the expansion and freedom of thought, the invention of the printing press, the discovery and exploration of America and the East; in one word, all the progressive developments of the later Middle Ages. In this comprehensive sense Michelet calls the Renaissance "the dis-

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covery of the world, and the discovery of man."[1] Renaissance means a new birth or regeneration, but the literary movement so called was not a single act, but a long intellectual and artistic process preparatory to that moral and religious renovation which we call the Reformation, and to what we understand by modern, as distinct from medieval and ancient civilization. Taine says: "The Renaissance is a unique movement, intermediate between the Middle Ages and modern times, between a lack of culture and over culture, between the reign of crude instincts and the reign of ripe ideas."[2]

In the Middle Ages the Italian cities lost for the most part their political independence and communal institutions. But as a result of the economic prosperity won in the previous period and continued in this, they produced and patronized a host of scholars, writers and artists. Before considering the Renaissance itself we may briefly notice the chief political changes in the Italian peninsula during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The constant strife between cities and within cities had three outcomes—First, the rise of despots or princes, absolute rulers who deprived the citizens of the political rights which they had failed to exercise harmoniously. Second, the aggrandizement of a few cities at the expense of the rest, which were for the most part reduced to subjection and deprived of their self-government. Third, the employment of mercenary troops and leaders, called condottieri, who were not moved by patriotism, but solely by self-interest. These three elements ruined public spirit and were accompanied by a great deterioration of political morality.

A despotism was the logical outcome of the single magistracy of the podesta which at the beginning of the thirteenth century had replaced the earlier boards of consuls in the Italian communes. The office might be either selective or hereditary. In some towns it was not the podesta of the com-

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[1]Taine, S. Lecture on Art, page 79.
[2]Taine, S. Lecture on Art, page 79.

mune who was transformed into a prince, but the podesta of the merchants, or the potestas populi ("Captain of the people"), chosen by the people, which included members of all the guilds and constituted a more democratic suffrage then the original commune.

In other places the vicars, who had been entrusted with the town government by pope or emperor, altered their appointment to a permanent princedom. Besides slipping into power by these peaceful and gradual methods, one might suddenly force one's way into a princedom as the leader of a successful revolution or as a commander of the city's army.

The chief despotisms in the north were Milan, Verona and Padua. Other minor despotisms whose courts became centers of the Renaissance were Mantua under the Gonzaga, Ferrara ruled by the House of Este, Urbino under Frederigo di Montefelte, the Rimini under Gesmondo Malatesta, famed for his moral enormities, his military skill, and his culture. Venice was one city in the north which remained free from despotic rule. Until the fifteenth century Venice's interest in the Italian mainland was limited to keeping the routes through the Alpine passes open to her trade. But in the first half of that century the acquisition of considerable territory in the northeast of the peninsula brought Venice into close and frequently hostile relations with Milan, Florence, and the Papacy, and made it no longer possible for her to hold aloof from Italian politics as she had usually hitherto done.

Florence during the latter Middle Ages brought most of the other towns of Tuscany under her sway and was more powerful than Pisa, Lucca, or Siena, her closest rivals. Her internal city government, after progressing for a while in the direction of democracy, had then undergone a reaction and deteriorated into a virtual despotism under the cover of the old republican forms. This process we may briefly trace. At about the time that Venice was restricting both voting and office holding to its nobles, Florence took an opposite course. In 1282 the supreme magistracy was put in the hands of six priors repre-

senting the guilds and elected anew every two months, and in 1293 the members of thirty-seven noble houses were forever disqualified from their offices. There were twenty-one guilds making up the people of Florence. Of these the seven richer guilds of notaries, cloth-makers, money-changers, weavers, silk dealers, physicians, and furriers were known as the "fat people." The "little people" consisted of the fourteen guilds of linen makers, shoemakers, smiths, salt dealers, butchers, wine-merchants, innkeepers, harness-makers, leather dressers, armorers, masons, carpenters and bakers. Next the Ciompi; who did not belong to guilds secured political rights by a revolution in 1378, only to lose them in a counter-revolution of 1382. Under the forms of the republic there then ensued a fifty-year rule by a political ring composed of a few burgher families. This oligarchy was very successful in foreign policy, but finally in 1435 was overthrown by Cosmo De Medici. He was careful to keep all power in his own hands, although he, too, preserved the old republican forms. He catered, nevertheless, to the lower classes in the city and to the peasantry outside the walls, while he taxed the wealthy citizens heavily and was harsh towards men of too prominent family or political promise. Both Cosmo (1435-1464) and his grandson, Lorenzo de Medici (1465-1493), were generous patrons of the Renaissance and among the most enlightened of the despots. They preserved order, were peacefully inclined, good business leaders, and astute diplomats.

2. *The intellectual Temper of the Age.*

During the Renaissance period it was felt all over the world that Italy was the eminently desirable mecca for scholars who wanted to get in touch with what was most advanced in the intellectual life and lay a sure foundation of scholarship. It is for what was done in the period of the revival of learning that the world is most indebted to Italy.[3]

[3]Walsh, J. J. What Civilization Owes to Italy, p. 134.

No department of the intellectual life was neglected. The Greek authors were issued in magnificent editions and of course the Latin authors were studied with the greatest care, the manuscript copies of their works sedulously collected and faithfully collated. Roman history was enlarged and humanized and illustrated by the study of poems, inscriptions and antiquities generally. Besides editions of the great authors, dictionaries, geographies, commentaries of all kinds, explanatory manuals of all sorts have come from these Italian scholars, and their value is recognized by the world of erudition.

If the Italians had done nothing else for scholarship than which they accomplished during the Renaissance, they still would have deserved the highest place in history for merit in intellectual achievement, but as a matter of fact at all times during the Middle Ages, Italy was in a fine scholarly way greatly contributing to the education of Europe both for the time and for subsequent generations. In Dr. Walsh's words—"It is probably not an exaggeration to say that modern civilization not only owes more to Italy than to any other nation of Europe, but owes more to her than to all the other Western nations put together. Italy for the past thousand years has been to our modern world what ancient Greece was to the old world, the mother and mistress of the arts, the fountain head of literature, the foster-mother of education, the beneficent patron of the arts and crafts, and though this is less well-recognized, the faithful nurse of the sciences."[4]

Prof. Sandys, the distinguished English classical scholar of Cambridge University, who in 1905 delivered the Harvard Lectures on the Revival of Learning has necessarily much to say in the lectures as published of Italian scholarship at that time. He narrates the story of the academies and universities of Italy in Florence, Pisa, Padua, Mantua, Venice, Genoa, Naples and Rome, and how much they accomplished for true

[4]Walsh, J. J. What Civilization Owes to Italy, Ch. 8.

scholarship, and for the intellectual life and culture not only of Italy itself, but for the world in general.[5]

From Italy the Renaissance spread far and beyond the Alps, until it had made the round of western Europe. But rebirth or rinasciamento implies that something had ceased to exist which once existed. The word therefore implied a preceding period which was reborn, and it implies an intervening period of cessation, a gap or chasm between that period and itself. The Renaissance therefore carried with itself a conception of the Middle Ages as this intervening period, and a conception of itself as a rebirth of the civilization of the Roman Empire. These were the fundamental conceptions of the Italians and French of the Renaissance.

Now as a matter of fact, civilization is never reborn, it continues with changes. People believed themselves to be reviving the civilization of the past when they were in reality only learning from it. This belief colored their language, their literature, their daily life and their art. In Papini's words—"They strove not to do more than the ancients, but to do as the ancients have done"[6] Ordinarily it is assumed that Italy's most important contribution to world literature is in arts, but astonishing as it may be to many students of pedagogy, the most significant and outstanding contribution is in the field of education.[7] In practically every field of human development until the beginning of the 19th century when, after the Napoleonic Wars for political reasons rather readily understood, there was a lapse, Italy has been the leader in educational theory and practice. Italy has not only developed to a high degree every phase of intellectual life and of humanity for her own people but has expressed her views and experiences to others. The Italians have given us

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[5]Sandys, J. E. Harvard Lectures on the Revival of Learning, pp. 50-75.

[6]Papini, G. Four and Twenty Minds, p. 31.

[7]Walsh, J. J. What Civilization Owes to Italy, passim.

a great deal in the fields of philosophy, letters, arts, as well as sciences.

In the Middle Ages the Italians were the great leaders in a magnificent period of architecture and sculpture, intellectual, literary and educational accomplishments.

The Italian scientists have played a large part in humanizing the many and varied conceptions of scientific inquiry, though this is sometimes doubted. Here in these early days were experiments and conclusions reached concerning various and complex data about man and his habitat. Scholars from all parts of Europe enrolled in the Italian universities for their inspiring culture and to quench thirst of knowledge.

In a word, according to Walsh, Symonds, Sandys and others, Italy was the leader and master of the mental world for all centuries of modern history down to the nineteenth century. Even in that century she has not ceased to be the home of men and women who seriously think on educational problems and topics of all sorts.[8]

Allusion has already been made to the social conditions, the inventions, and discoveries, which prepared the way for the revival of learning. New and powerful impulses were shaping the progress of the world, and the leaders of this movement were not slow to utilize the instruments this opportunity furnished them. Chief among these was the art of printing, which enabled them to multiply and distribute copies of the classics, that had been consigned to comparative oblivion.

Another important element must be considered if this revival is to be understood. During the Middle Ages, as has been shown, the ecclesiastics largely shaped the intellectual activity of Europe, mystery was made of science, and the authority of the Church was supreme in all educational policies as well as on religious and political questions. A new and vital doctrine was taught which had much to do with the intellectual and spiritual emancipation of man. This

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[8]Walsh, J. J. What Civilization Owes to Italy, pp. 7-10.

new teaching or doctrine may be briefly stated as follows:—Man is a rational, vocational, self-conscious being, born with capabilities and rights to enjoy whatever good the world offers.

Another new doctrine taught was that there was goodness in man and his works even in pre-Christian eras and that a study of the writings of all who have contributed to human progress is essential to culture and of value to mankind. Indeed Gibbon tells us that in the time of Petrarch, "No more than ten votaries of Homer could be enumerated in all Italy."[9]

Again it was held that the gates of learning must be opened to all and not limited to the clergy, the recluse, and the sage. Intellectual learning and culture must be offered to all men, to make them better and happier, and is not to be confined to the few for selfish motives. The Renaissance made learning popular, it created a passion for culture and refinement, it aroused and stimulated widespread desire for greater enlightenment.

3. *Pioneers of Humanism*

Humanism was the study of classical literature not merely to derive scientific or theological information from it, but primarily for its literary and human interest. The humanists were impressed not only by the subject matter of the ancient scholars and philosophers but by the elegance and refinement of their Latin style. They were greatly attracted by their innumerable orations, poems, letters and manuscripts in general. They took an immense interest in the personalities of the ancients and in their manner of living and their attitude in the world.

The humanists not only read widely in both Latin and Greek literature, but also examined ancient ruins, works of art, coins, tablets, and other remains. Their interests were not only directed along lines of philology, grammar and logic, but they also compiled and translated books on history,

[9]Sibley, H. The Renaissance Educators.

geography, cosmography, philosophy, archeology, education and the like. Their enthusiasm for the new learning attracted scholars from France, Spain, Germany and other countries, who spread the influence in their own lands.

This great intellectual movement is one of the profoundest in all history. Draper says, "Between 1470 and 1500 more than ten thousand editions of books and pamphlets were printed and a majority of them in Italy, demonstrating that Italy was in the van of the intellectual movement."[10]

The interest in the search and discovery for new material has a parallel in the history of modern Egyptology and Assyriology. The Latin and Greek manuscripts were a revelation of a long forgotten world to the scholars of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as the hieroglyphic and cuneiform inscriptions were to the scholars of the nineteenth century.

The Greek classics and Greek Church fathers were brought to the West partly, and chiefly, by Italians who went to the East in search of manuscripts, and partly by Greeks who emigrated to Italy and Spain before or after the conquest of Constantinople. The most active figure in this field was Giovanni Aurispa, who did for Greek literature and philosophy what Poggio did for the Latin. In 1423 he and his associates, such as Ferrara, Filelfo and Ambrosini, returned from Constantinople to Venice with two hundred thirty-eight volumes of ancient classics, including the works of Sophocles, Eschylus, Plato, Socrates, Aristotle, Xenophon, Plutarch, and Lucian. Thus these treasures were saved from possible destruction by the Turks, before the catastrophe of 1453 overtook Constantinople.

With the books were also imported inscriptions, medals, and other curiosities. Ruins which had been utterly neglected, assumed a new significance, and served as a guide and interpreter of the past.

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[10]Draper, R. Intellectual Development of Europe, Ch. III.

A review will now be made of the chief pioneers and promoters of humanism in the last half of the fourteenth and the first half of the fifteenth centuries. Without these men it is probable we should never have had an Alberti or a Piccolomini. First is Coluccio Salutato (1330-1406), the son of an exile from Florence who became apostolical secretary to Pope Urban V, and after 1375 Chancellor of the Republic of Florence. He wrote Latin Eclogues, Elegies, and Eulogies of Dante and Petrarca, and produced innumerable other works. He replaced the barbarous Latin of the Middle Ages by the Classical Latin of the Augustan Age.

Luigi Marsiglio (1342-1394), a pupil of Petrarca, was a priest and preacher of the Dominican order, an admired theologian and philosopher, who stood at the head of the academy in Florence.

Giovanni Villari, the historian of Florence (1280-1349), was a merchant and held various political and diplomatic offices. He is not a critical or philosophical historian, but an agreeable narrator and chronicler and he is quite authoritative on matters pertaining to the Republic of Florence.

Leonardo Bruni (1369-1446), a pupil of Chrysoloras, was a profound Greek scholar. Bruni abandoned all his other duties and studies for the language of Homer, Plato, and Demosthenes. He acquired great fame by his literary, political, and ecclesiastical activity.

Ambrogio Traversai (1386-1439), General of the Camalduensian order, combined ascetic piety with interest in Greek and Roman oratory, pedagogy, and aesthetics. He collected a great many manuscripts in Venice. He translated from the Greek fathers' theological writings, and there was in him a strange conflict between monastic humility and humanistic love of fame.

Carlo Marsuppini of Arezzo belonged to the same order but was a liberal minded scholar. He was highly esteemed as teacher and chancellor of Florence.

Guarino of Verona (1370-1461), a pupil of Chrysolaras,

visited Eastern nations and taught Greek and Latin in many cities of Italy. He trained many young men, even from foreign countries, who later distinguished themselves in scholarly pursuits. Guarino wrote a Greek and Latin grammar for the use of his pupils, and numerous translations, poems, and letters. Nicholas V engaged him to translate Strabo's geography which became a classic in geographical and cosmographical literature.

Vittorino Rambaldini da Feltre (1378-1446), the pioneer of teachers, wrote very little but was the prince of schoolmasters, who trained the body, the mind, and spirit of man. His teaching occurred mostly in Padua, Venice, and Mantua.

Humanism is the child of the Renaissance, although the causes which brought it into being have their root far back in the Middle Ages. Humanism, moreover, is the controlling force which lies behind every aspect of Renaissance life. Civilized society, the political aspirations, the artistic and literary development of that marvellous age alike find their source in the humanist spirit. Many gloried in the name of humanist—great educators such as Vittorino and Guarino, scholars such as Poggio and Aurispa and others, to say nothing of the countless men of action, princes, warriors, merchants, churchmen, and statesmen who were at once the pupils and the patrons of the men of letters. Yet among all that goodly company there is no fuller manifestation of humanism than that presented by Alberti and Piccolomini.[11] The evidence for this statement is given in the following quotations:

"Leon Battista Alberti exercised an influence over the spirit of his age and race which was second to none but Lionardo's."[12]

Prof. Symonds says: "Whether we regard him from the point of view of art, of science, or of literature, he occupies in

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[11]A. S. Piccolomini—Biographies of Illustrious Men—Rome 1457.

[12]Gerini, G. B. Gli Scrittori Pedagogici Italiani, pp. 79-90.

each department the position of precursor, pioneer and indicator."[13]

There were greater educators and scholars than they, and more brilliant statesmen; but they belonged both to the intellectuals and to the men of action. They were the exponents of good life, as conceived by the humanists, and they were also able to realize it in their own career. The chosen test of their system was its value in practical life, and its object was the training of the statesman, the perfect adaptation of the individual to the great society in which he must play his part.[14]

Thus the story of both Alberti and Piccolomini affords unique insight into the phase of thought which we call humanism. It provides at once a clue in its meaning and an opportunity of estimating its value in the history of civilization.

4. *The City of Florence*

A description of Florence will help us to understand our two authors.

Florence was probably founded by the Romans in the first century B. C., and early attained considerable prosperity. During the dark ages it was frequently devastated, but it revived about the beginning of the eleventh century, at which time the Florentines became extensive European traders. Their silk and woolen fabrics excelled, and their skill as workers in gold and jewels was unsurpassed. About this time Florence took an active part in the feud which broke out between the Guelphs and Ghibellines, the town generally supporting the former against the imperial party. In 1283 a species of republic was constituted, but about the year 1300 the party struggles again burst forth between the same rival families under the new names of the Whites and the Blacks, in which the Blacks (the Guelphs) were eventually victorious, and the Whites, among whom was the poet Dante, banished. In

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[13]Symonds, J. A. Renaissance in Italy, p. 184.
[14]Schippisi, A. Terre Toscane, pp. 171-174.

the course of these troubles a family of merchants named the Medicis rose to great influence in Florentine politics. One of them, Cosmo, was the founder of the political greatness of his house. His grandson, Lorenzo, surnamed Il Magnifico, as a statesman, scholar and patron of art and literature, attained the highest celebrity. Under him Florence, which though calling itself a republic was in reality ruled by him, rose to a great pitch of opulence and power, and, notwithstanding the hostility of the pope, he exercised a great influence throughout Italy. On the fall of the republic in the sixteenth century a member of a lateral branch of the Medici, the line of Cosmo having become extinct, was made Duke of Florence by Charles V. The ducal dynasty of the Medici continued to rule till the year 1737 when, becoming extinct, they were succeeded by Francis of Lorraine, afterwards emperor of Germany. From this period the history of Florence merges into that of Tuscany until its amalgamation with the kingdom of Italy. From 1865 till 1871 it held the dignity of capital of the kingdom, the seat of government being transferred to it from Turin.

Florence, "the most illustrious and fortunate of Italian republics",[15] although from her inland location upon the Arno shut out from engaging in those naval enterprises that conferred wealth and importance upon the coast cities of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, became through the skill, industry, enterprise, and genius of her citizens, the great manufacturing, financial, literary, political, educational and art center of the age.

Among the cities of the old world famous for their beauty none has won more universal admiration than Florence. But beauty is not the only claim that Florence has to the love and reverence of mankind. No city ever built by the hand of man has exerted a more mighty influence on that form of civilization which finds expression in the arts of painting,

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[15]Macchiavelli, N. History of Florence, Ch. XI.

architecture, sculpture, and literature. In her long roll of fame we find the names of Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Macchiavelli, Michaelangelo, Leonardo da Vinci, Galileo, Americo Vespucci, Giotto, Benvenuto Cellini, Andrea del Sarto, Guicciardini, Lorenzo de' Medici, Fra Angelico, Savonarola, Palmieri, Alberti, and others. The list of her illustrious citizens, of her poets, statesmen, historians, churchmen, educators, architects, sculptors, and painters is more extended than that of any other city of medieval or Renaissance times: indeed, as respects the number of great men and women, Florence is perhaps unrivalled by any city of the ancient or modern world, save Athens.

The city of Florence produced noted pedagogues who emphasized physical exercises and training in manners and morals as well as intellectual schooling. A few notable examples of this type were Alberti, Palmieri, Marsuppino, Landino, Piccolomini, and others.

This revival and output in culture helped materially in the organization and enrichment of the Italian language. Many of these Umanisti, more particularly Alberti, Piccolomini, Guarino, and Vittorino, emphasized the importance of writing and speaking in the vernacular instead of Latin and Greek. The predecessors of Alberti, ... Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, were really the forerunners of the Italian language. These later scholars simply kept up the spirit and interest of the vernacular. It seems to the writer that there were two essential trios responsible for the influx of Italian:—The first group is comprised of the names of Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio; the second group of Alberti, Piccolomini and Palmieri.

The artists were natural where the humanists seem somewhat sentimental and affected. While the humanists imitated the writings of classical antiquity, the artists experimented and worked out new methods. The humanists were professed scholars and deep thinkers; the artists were original geniuses. Their versatility is also noteworthy; a great many were masters

of more than one fine art, as for example Leon Battista Alberti who was a leader in almost every branch of human learning.

Of the three fine arts, architecture was the least important during the early Renaissance. Nevertheless a considerable renovation took place in Italian architecture in the course of the fifteenth century. The Italians had never clearly grasped the principles of Gothic construction thoroughly, and were ready to revert to Romanesque methods, and to study and investigate the ruins and monuments and other relics of the Romans. Changes were also made conformably to the more peaceful and luxurious urban life of this period. These architects of this period were not so much scientific builders as they were decorators and designers, while some were primarily painters and sculptors. The most conspicuous architects of the Renaissance were Brunelleschi, Alberti, and Donatello. A great many details from ancient Roman architecture and sculpture were introduced and applied largely by Alberti. It was not merely a question of profound scholarship, but also a rebirth, a revival of artistic activity in every direction. Sundry scholars founded at this time the Platonic Academy in the villa of Fiesole, overlooking Florence. Here they would discuss and propound philosophical, theological, jurisprudential and other subjects, such as health problems including gymnastics, philosophy of art (esthetics) and others.

Still another important phase of education was that of Orations (oral Latin and Italian), "conversazioni", including grammar, rhetoric and poetry.[16]. At this time the Greek and Latin odes and technique of poetry were revived and reinterpreted according to the prevailing conditions. Alberti imitated Dante and Boccaccio in using the hexameter in Italian poetry. He also used the "terza rima" and "ottava rima "in his poetical writings.[17]

The revival of learning in reality was the florescence of a

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[16]Gerini, G. B. Gli Scrittori Pedagogici Italiani, pp. 59-63.
[17]DeSanctis, F. Storia della Letteratura Italiana, pp. 179-186.

movement which can be traced throughout the Middle Ages, which in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, by its brilliancy, its profundity, dazzled students into overlooking the slow and long period of preparation and meditation. During this overflow of learning, classical writers, poets, grammarians, logicians, artists, and others provided the instruments such as grammars, dictionaries (rudimentary), historical, geographical, and nautical charts and manuscripts, phrase books, primers on arithmetic and higher mathematics. This beginning, as previously stated, caused the decipherment and the representation of the thoughts, conceptions, and ideas of the ancient world.

(a) *Education of Florentine Women During the Quattrocento*

The mediaeval judgment upon the education of women which survived in German, French and English society down to the Reformation was the natural outcome of the subordination of women in feudal communities. Here and there a writer like Vincent de Beauvais, or Christina Pisanis,[18] pleads that "artes et literae" are not rightly forbidden to women.

Christina Pisanis was a patron of literature as well as of art, a writer of religious poetry and an authority on French, Italian, Greek and Latin languages, and later became an excellent musician. She found time to become proficient in design and embroidery. In this, however, she is only a striking example of the women of the Italian Renaissance. Burckhardt in his work on the Italian Renaissance has summed up their place in life and their influence in words that are especially applicable to Pisanis and her followers: "Their distinction consisted in the fact that their beauty, disposition, education, virtue and piety combined to make them harmonious human beings."[19]

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[18]Cannon, M. A. Education of Women During the Renaissance, pp. 7-13.

[19]Burckhardt, Italian Renaissance, pp. 181-183.

The influence of territorial and, still more, of ecclesiastical authority, however, was against all pleas for the enlargement of woman's life.

Leonardo Bruni, the contemporary of Guarino was the first to advocate that the treasures of ancient literature should not only be thrown open to women, but should form an integral part of her education.[20] Vittorino was perhaps the first schoolmaster to carry into practice the doctrine of the equality of the sexes.[21] Walsh says: "The first great Renaissance teacher, Vittorino da Feltre, took up the position of teacher for the Gonzagas at Mantua on condition that women should be allowed to attend his classes as well as men."[22] In Italy and in some parts of Spain, the social status of women underwent a striking change during the Quattrocento. The new place which she gradually came to occupy in society rendered necessary a wholly different training and a much wider and more thorough instruction than was permitted to her sisters in northern Europe. In Florence more particularly, the individuality of a woman was regarded as not less worthy of respect, and not less capable of cultivation, than the personality of her brother or husband. An ignorant woman was considered to be without charm. Cardinal Bombo declared, "that the more a young woman knew the more charming she was."[23]

Women were inspired by the profound intellectual activity of that age. They yearned to learn Latin, Greek and the vernacular as well, so as to be able to converse daily with men of wisdom, of eloquence and of artistic expression. Alberti in his book entitled Della Famiglia[24]—recommends women who came to receive his counsel on matters pertaining to education, "to pursue the studies which will assist them in educating

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[20]Bruni, L. De Studis et Literis.
[21]Woodward, W. H. Vittorino Da Feltre and other Humanist Educators, pp. 123-132.
[22]Walsh, J. J. What Civilization Owes to Italy, pp. 130-133.
[23]Bembo, P. Opera (Latina and Italiani) Vol. IV. p. 471.
[24]Alberti, L. B. Della Famiglia, p. 211.

their own children and in taking part in the intellectual lives of their husbands."

Piccolomini expressed analogous ideas in his writings,[25] in which he recommends young women to read Plato, Quintilian, Cicero, and Seneca. In this connection he urges that the education of a young woman should not be entirely bookish. He counts less upon books than upon experience and coming in contact with other cultivated women, upon the observation of things, and manners and dispositions and characteristics of their associates.

"Piccolomini says—'Let them observe whatever is curious in their surroundings—a fine palace, a picturesque scene, an eminent man, a passer-by, a prelate, the scene of an ancient battle or villa'."[26]

The history of Italian literature makes mention of many women proficient in Greek and Latin languages which they spoke with ease and in which they wrote familiarly both in prose and poetry. The Italian language was also cultivated and enriched by them to a very high degree. This was obviously demonstrated in their correspondence with relatives, intimate friends and associates.

In 1405, scarcely more than thirty years after the death of Petrarca, Battista di Montefeltro, daughter of Antonio, Count of Urbino, and wife of Galeazzo Malatesta,[27] besides exchanging Italian sonnets with her father-in-law, delivered numerous orations before ecclesiastical, educational and political assemblies in both Latin and Italian.

Costanza da Varano, the granddaughter of Battista, was likewise a poet and profound scholar. She was particularly fond of interpreting poetry and literary masterpieces in Latin

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[25]Piccolomini, A. S. DeLiberorum Educatione, pp. 99-103.
[26]Bale, J. The Pageants of Popes, pp. 79-93.
[27]Cannon, M. A. Education of Women During the Renaissance, Ch. 1.

and Greek. Aside from these literary activities, she was a celebrated singer and musician.

The City of Ferrara had many gifted women, preeminent among whom was Bianca d'Este, daughter of Niccolo III. She was proficient in both prose and poetry in Latin, Greek, and Italian languages. Bianca was also noteworthy in music, dancing, and in embroidery, dress-making and other forms of needlework prevalent in that day.

In Venice and Verona, scholarly women took active part in the disputations and discourses of social gatherings including literary and philosophical contests or debates. The outstanding feminine personality among these is Cassandra Fedele, who was chosen by the Senate to make the address of welcome to the Emperor Frederick III in 1468.

During the first century of Bologna University's existence there were women professors or assistant teachers in practically every department. Irneria was her father's assistant in the department of law when the great law school at Bologna acquired the fame which gradually led to the establishment of a university there. We have the record of a woman professor of mathematics there as well as of philosophy and literature. In the school of medicine, Alessandra or Santa Gilani lectured on Anatomy.

At Salerno University, women wrote text books on the subject of women's diseases that became famous throughout Europe. The work of one of them, Trotula,[28] was very widely known and indeed her name as Trotula or Trot was in succeeding centuries taken as a symbol of the learned women of every country and time. De Renzi[29] in his Story of the School of Salerno, has many details with regard to this early Renaissance university professor.

Poliziano characterizes in his Latin couplets many of the

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[28]Trotula's books have been printed in a number of editions, and her work has been reviewed by Mlle. Lipinska in her Paris Thesis on Women Physicians.

[29]De Renzi. Story of the School of Salerno.

Florentine women of his day who devoted themselves to the classics. One of these, Alessandra or (Santa) Scala was a very successful dramatic interpreter. She played the role of Electra in Sophocles' drama given in the original. This Santa was the daughter of Bartolomeo Scala of Florence, and wife of Michele Marullo, a native of Greece.

To these might be added the names of many other women of the Quattrocento, all similarly gifted and talented, if not equally celebrated. Tiraboschi[30] alone notes ten or twelve others who wrote before 1500 and among the poets of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries he mentions upwards of fifty women who distinguished themselves through Latin, Greek, and Italian verse and classical literature.

[30]Tiraboschi, Letteratura Italiana, Florence.

III.

EDUCATIONAL TREND OF THE PERIOD OF ALBERTI AND PICCOLOMINI.

Two motives stand prominently forth as the sources from which was born the enhusiasm for antiquity which is the characteristic of the Quattrocento. The first is that of patriotic sentiment, the second aesthetic appreciation. Both were united in Petrarch in whom the nascent revolution found its impulse and its first impression. It is of importance to recall the significance of the fact that the Italian of the Renaissance regarded himself as the direct descendant of the glories of Rome. To restore the magnificence and splendor of Roman culture, the virtue of the Roman citizen and the Roman polity was his inspiring aim. Patriotic feeling was not satisfied with claiming past glories; it preached the duty of their renewal, and idealized the Augustan period as the Golden Age of mankind which could be brought back again by painstaking study of the thoughts and deeds of its great exemplar.

The men of the Renaissance were ready to initiate a new age, to take up the chain of historical unity where barbarian had snapped it, a fact which rendered overt imitation and reproduction of the past inevitable to that age and intelligible to ourselves.

The outward form of life, notably in building, in oratory, or in names must be made the symbol of the antique spirit to the perception of which humanity might again aspire. And no truer expression of the new ideal could be found than the forms and methods of the education of Rome.

The Florentine scholars had by the end of the fourteenth century exhausted the culture of their time; they were unconsciously seeking for a fuller and nobler world. When al-

most by accident it opened out before them in the form of their historic past, they leapt forward to make it their own.

These men were interested in ancient literature, history, archaeology, music, mathematics, science, philosophy, the development of personality, and artistic expression.

These were forces making for the spread of classical enthusiasm which can be identified. Vergerius had written his most attractive treatise on the principles of the new education, De Ingenuis Moribus; Guarino translated Plutarch's tract on the bringing-up of children; Bruni and Barbaro plead for equal opportunity of education for women. But above all other influences, the Council of Constance had directly brought about the re-discovery of forgotten works of classical antiquity including Quintilian's Education of the Orator (1417), destined to prove the most outstanding of them all.

The influence of the treatise of Quintilian great as it was in Rome was still more fruitful of results in the Renaissance. It is not too much to say that it was left to the Quattrocento to render him full appreciation. Hence it is to Quintilian that Poggio, Guarino, Vergerius, Palmieri, Piccolomini, and Alberti consistently look for guidance; as does also the most distinguished of all the teachers of the early Renaissance, Vittorino da Feltre. "Quintilianum ut optimum vitae atque eruditionis acutorem miris laudibus extollebat,"[31] says Platina of Vittorino; whose favorite pupil, Ognibene da Lonigo, became under his guidance a renowned authority upon the "Institutio Oratoria". In the Mantuan School is to be found an exposition of the precepts of Quintilian adapted to modern Italian life. Every scholar and educator of the Renaissance, whether man of theory or man of practice, whether in Italy or on foreign soil, steeped himself in the text and in the spirit of this treatise.

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[31] Woodward, W. H Vittorino da Feltre and other Humanist Educators—p. 2.

IV.

ALBERTI, LEON BATTISTA

1. *His Life*

Leon Battista Alberti was born in Florence, February 18, 1404, the illegitimate son of Lorenzo delgi Alberti, of a noble and powerful Florentine family. He received the best possible education that could be had at that time, at first in the school of Barsizia at Padua, then at the University of Bologna, from which he was graduated at the age of twenty-four with the degree of Doctor of Laws.

He was proficient in the arts, besides being profound in mathematics, philosophy, literature, music, mechanics, and natural and physical sciences. As a musician he ranked as one of the first, if not the first, organist of his day. He excelled also in physical and social accomplishments, and, like Leonardo da Vinci, exercised a powerful and fascinating influence upon all contemporaries. He travelled extensively through France, Spain, Belgium, Holland, Germany, and Austria as well as the principal commercial and scholastic centers in Italy. For many years Alberti was connected with the Church in an ambassadorial capacity. Later he served as secretary for many pontiffs. In 1432 he was appointed a papal secretary by Eugenius IV. His architectural training began with the study of antique monuments and other remains during his stay in Rome, 1432-34. Returning to Florence, he entered with ardor into the artistic and intellectual life of the city. Brunelleschi, Donatello, Piccolomini, Landino and Palmieri were his more intimate associates, and it was probably at this time that many of his mechanical devices were made. He took an active part in the literary life of Florence and figured

as a champion of the use of the vernacular (Italian) instead of Latin.

He was an ecclesiastical representative and secretary to six popes and stood in high favor, with Eugenius IV, Nicholas V, and especially with Piccolomini or Pius II. His advice on matters pertaining to architecture and sculpture as well as other subjects was no doubt sought by the pontiffs, and at least under Nicholas V he was in charge of the projects for rebuilding St. Peters and the Vatican.

Alberti's edifices rank among the best of the Renaissance, although he was preeminently a theorist rather than a practical architect. His art is strictly classical of the early Renaissance. Its purity is probably best shown in the façade of the church of San Francisco at Rimini, Santa Maria Novella at Florence, and more notably the Church and altar at Sant' Andrea at Mantua.

His book De Re Edificatoria (1485) was the first great printed work on the architecture of the Renaissance. The book entitled De Pictura, written in Italian, is perhaps the most valuable treatise on painting before Leonardo. Alberti is one of the most Hellenic scholars of Italy. Giovani Papini,[32] speaking at the fifth centenary of Alberti's birth in 1906, says:

> "I regard Alberti as one of the most completely Hellenic of all Italians. He had the Attic sense of measure, of order, of regularity, his search for the perfect type of human beauty, his passion for the architectonic, the symmetrical, the non-fantastic, bring him close to the intellectual type of the Greeks."

Alberti was one of the most conspicuous scholars of his day and age. He wrote on many topics; he formulated precepts for painting and for sculpture, but he left neither painting nor statues. He designed many churches and altars and other

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[32]Papini, G. Four and Twenty Minds, p. 32.

municipal and state edifices, but he brought only a few to completion. His writings and literary activities are numerous and varied as the commercial and ecclesiastical posts held by him. Alberti also produced guides, plans, and instructive booklets, both technical and of a general nature. Alberti was more disposed to say what should be done than to act himself. He thus reveals his aristocratic tendency inherited from his powerful and wealthy family.

Like all typical scholars of the Renaissance Alberti possessed great strength of will:—"Gli uomini possono tutto quando lo vogliono", was a favorite motto with him. He, from his boyhood, was marked by a persistent curiosity and a corresponding acuteness of observation, which extended to natural objects and to human and social phenomena alike. It is characteristic of the great age that Alberti, merchant and diplomatist, should be the associate and friend of such artists and scholars as Brunelleschi, Donatello, Palmieri, Piccolomini, Marsuppini and a host of others, should write a primer on history, geography, and arithmetic, a treatise on the family and kindred subjects, poems of a quasi-platonist sort, a tract on education and on citizenship, and should have touched upon almost every conceivable branch of knowledge, including astronomy, higher mathematics, engineering, optics, just at the time when his friend and associate, Palmieri, was completing his dialogue, which was very similar to Alberti's in form and scope. It introduces the same Agnolo-Pandolfini, the typical figure of the dignified Florentine citizen. Its subject was the "method ruling the household and the State". Alberti occupied ground very similar to that adopted by Palmieri. In brief—"The scholarly man of affairs is his ideal." His humanist feeling is remarkably expressed. Alberti possessed a passion for creativeness, which made him the superlative master of the Tuscan men of the Renaissance.

Alberti's father and paternal uncle were men of worth and scholarship, and the school of which his uncle was the head was of a high type, as seen by the fact that the patricians of

Padua and its environs were in the habit of sending their sons to it. During the years spent at Barizia, Alberti was taught, besides elementary subjects, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, mathematics, sciences, theology, and philosophy. His uncle, a noted school-master, Don Ambrozio, soon discovered the remarkable abilities and the industry and perseverance of his nephew. Passionately devoted to books and learning, he mastered with ease everything put into his hands, including Arabic and Sanskrit. His powers of memory were extraordinary, and many stories were current of how he could repeat whole pages of Virgil, or other classic authors after reading or hearing them read but once.

Before closing this chapter of Alberti's life, there are some things still to be mentioned, as they reflect credit on the general tone and spirit of the school as well as shed light on his character. Young Alberti contrasted with the majority of his schoolmates in many respects. Socially, while attending Barizia school, he was ineffective. Although he represented perhaps the outstanding family then at Florence, possessing the wealth, scholarship, luxury, and nobility of his proud family and city, yet he remained by himself. He did not join with them in their sports and games. He was rather delicate, retiring, serious, studious, silent, thoughtful, almost melancholy. There was a saying common amongst the scholars—"Tutti noi altri a bagattellari, e Battiste a i libri"—All we others to our frivolities and Battista to his books. Then, too, he had beaten all his companions, beyond any possibility of comparison, in every department of study. In such circumstances there might easily have sprung up feelings of unfriendliness and jealousy on the one side, and of aversion and disdain on the other. But nothing of the kind took place; indeed it was the very opposite. The utmost generosity, kindness and affection were shown toward Battista, which he unstintingly returned. Many friendships were formed then which lasted through life, and which bore profitable results when he and some of his first class-mates—such as Palmieri,

his contemporary, Morosini, the historian, and many others—were bearing the strain of responsible positions in both Church and State.

Alberti's studies were very varied and interesting, and his progress in them was most astonishing. And yet this is not to be wondered at when we take into consideration his marvellous powers, and equally marvellous application. It is said that he never delayed a moment when he wanted to ascertain any fact. He would rise from his table, or from his bed, and go to search it out at once; and, in thinking out any difficulty or problem, he would work steadily on, day and night, until he could say "L'ho pur vinto," or "pui non ci voglio pensare".—"I have vanquished it, I will now think of it no more."[33]

Here will be given as complete a list of his studies as is possible in illustration of his many sided interests and contributions to knowledge. Besides Hebrew, Latin, Greek, philosophy, and mathematics, of which I have already spoken, "he mastered history, geography, astronomy, geometry, botany, mineralogy, hydraulics, acoustics, the rising and falling of objects in air and water, the reflection of light from curved surfaces, spheres, mechanics, civil and military architecture, civil and canon law, and education."[34] Nor was it that he simply dipped into these studies, that he was, as it were, content to wade in their shallows. He sounded all their known waters, and was destined, as we shall subsequently see, to reach depths that others had never fathomed, and to bring to light unheard of treasures which he never for an instant retained in his own possession, but made immediately the property of those capable of appreciating their value and of turning them to account. In this way according to Mancini, Galileo, Kepler, Acquapendente, Ostilio Riccio, the celebrated mathematicians of a century later, and Pestalozzi, Herbart, Rousseau and other scholars, were all indebted directly or indirectly to him.[35]

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[33]Aubel, C. L. B. Alberti, pp. 13-17.
[34]Gerini, G. B. Scrittori Pedagogici Italiani, pp. 123-139.
[35]Mancini, G. B. Vita di L. B. Alberti, pp. 229-237.

In fine, the attitude of Alberti towards the classical past was thoroughly individualistic. Individuality, he said, should be encouraged by all available agencies: travel in particular is urged as a needful instrument for widening the mental horizon and inducing tolerance. The common end held out as the crown of all was the development of personality, for the due service of the home, community and of God.[36]

2. *Systematic Exposition of his General and Educational Views.*

An exposition of his general views first is necessary as a background for his educational views.

(1) Alberti as an Aesthetician.

Alberti was perhaps the greatest theorist of fine arts during the Renaissance. With his friends and associates Brunelleschi and Donatello, he discovered the mathematical law of linear perspective,[37] which was of inestimable value to the painters of his own and succeeding generation. His art is the most strictly classical of the early Renaissance and prepared the way for that of Bramanti and the High Renaissance. "Beauty," Alberti tells us, "is an ideal quality, and the artist's task is to transform material things so as to present the quality of beauty."[38] The artist must be able to convey to the eye or the ear of the world the ideal or idea which is within himself. He must be an interpreter of all phenomena in an artistic sense. Evidently Alberti must have been very familiar with Cicero's views on art. To quote from Child:—"Cicero says: 'Multa vident pictoris in umbria et in eminentia, quae nos non videmus', that is to say, 'Painters see in shadow and in relief many things which we ordinary men do not perceive'."[39] Alberti, like many other humanists of his day, claims that the

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[36]Aubel, C. L. B. Alberti, pp. 67-73.
[37]Symonds, J. A. Renaissance in Italy, p. 340.
[38]Alberti, L. B. De Pictura, pp. 88-92.
[39]Child, R. History of Art, page 39.

materials of beauty are all around us.[40] Broadly speaking, they include nature and human nature. Nature is always an inspiring factor of beauty. The vast extent, the varied objects, and the wonderful correlation of parts in nature furnish exhaustless material for aesthetic inspiration. The human body with its functions is one important source of inspiration in itself; and in turn is a means of comprehending beauty. The ear opens the way for the appreciation of music, as the eye for the appreciation of the representative arts. The emotions furnish some of the best material of beauty, inasmuch as they are not material things. The emotion of love is one that appeals to all classes and conditions of the human race.

Alberti's theory of beauty, in so far as we possess it, is extremely undeveloped, and, accordingly, we find no use made of it in his book on Painting. The only available source in book form is Dr. Irene Behn's book—Kunstphilosophen. Here as shown by Dr. Behn,[41] Alberti follows Plato in considering the essence of art to be imitation. the motive of this imitation is the universal desire for knowledge, so that the value of the knowledge received determines that of the worth of art. Therefore, a work of art performs its function properly when it gives us the most valuable knowledge of things—the knowledge of their inner essence. Thus, while for Plato art is essentially inferior to nature, for Alberti it may and should be superior to nature.

Alberti assigns to music, and implicity also to the other arts, four functions.[42] These are first, that of serving as an amusement; second, that of moral or spiritual education; third, that of constituting an enjoyable exercise; fourth, that of purification.

In all aesthetic art, form is an essential characteristic. The word is from Latin *forma*, meaning an appearance, used in the sense of an outward effect produced upon the eye or the

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[40]Behn, Irene. Kunstphilosophen, pp. 102-111.
[41]Behn, Irene. Kunstphilosophen, page 107.
[42]L. B. Alberti—De Pictura—p. 23.

ear; and in this sense, is applied especially to what presents a definitely outlined or concrete effect. All art products, in one sense, have form, but according to Alberti[43] "only in the degree in which the appearance or outward effect is essential can we say that form is essential". This statement implies that there are different degrees and classes among the aesthetic arts. Alberti says that we should search the products which, in the finest and most distinctive sense, are those of nature, products which we could unmistakably define as forms of nature made human. Unfigured silk, for example, however ornamental, is not one of these products according to Alberti because it is not, or has not, necessarily an appearance in any sense attributable to nature. In fine, high art distinctively involves the use of a form of nature—a form in the sense of being perceptible in the real world, or, at least, of being suggested by what is perceptible there.

Alberti was also a serious student of design, music, both instrumental and vocal, drama and poetry, and he urgently recommended the parents and tutors of Florence to include these in their curricula.

The domain of poetry overlaps that of music with respect to form. It often differs from it in respect to its base, as poetry draws its inspiration from emotions aroused by contemplation of material things. The drama, says Alberti, "is a concrete embodiment of certain ideas and emotions. It is a complement of music. Drama is a means of expressing emotions and personalities by materializing them."[44]

In his De Pictura, page 71, Alberti says, "Painting may be considered from two points of view. The painter may be merely a painter, or he may be an artist. He may be absolutely truthful in the representation of what he has seen or imagined, so far as form goes; this is true of many landscape and portrait painters. Yet his work may fail of producing the highest effect on the mind, because he put so little of himself

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[43]Behn, I.—Kunstphilosophen, page 103.
[44]Alberti, L. B. Opera Volgare III, p. 13.

into the composition. To produce an ideal effect he must present an ideal; otherwise his work will rank with that of the superficial artist."[45]

In reference to Sculpture he says: "Sculpture and painting have many points in common, but they have other points that differ. Painting represents by means of both form and color; sculpture, though obviously more true to life in form, yet lacks the effect which color produces."[46]

"Music," he says, "is the most natural means of self-expression. The savage can express all the emotions of his existence by it; so can the child of civilization; so can the civilized adult. The difference in the mode of expression of any group of people is based on the mental state of that people. Music is well said "To be the language of the emotions," therefore the music of a people will correspond to its prevailing emotions.[47] This fact is equally applicable to the individual the world over. There is nothing material with which to associate it, but it pertains to all moods, and is a mighty force from a psychological point of view.

The study of music according to Alberti serves a two-fold purpose in the education of the child: the training of his taste and imagination, and the training of his mind and powers of concentration. If music is to have any cultural value at all, it is of vital importance to give the child the power to distinguish differences in emotional content. Music is a language. "By this I do not mean that a certain combination of notes can describe a concrete object or express a definite idea, as do the letters in a word or the words in a sentence, but I do mean that music can and does express definite moods, types of character, attributes, such as, for instance, courage, resignation, mental explosion, adoration, or on the other hand, frivolity, vulgarity, emotional self-indulgence, and that, in ex-

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[45]Alberti, L. B. De Pictura, p. 71.
[46]Alberti, L. B. De Pictura, p. 77.
[47]De Sanctis, F. Storia della Letteratura Italiana, pp. 149-157.

pressing these moods, music is a far more direct medium than any words."[48]

Alberti, like Plato, recognized the true influence of music on character development. In the ideal Republic only music of the highest type was to be allowed within the hearing of its young citizens, because the great philosopher realized that music could not remain a superficial stimulus, but must penetrate whether for good or evil, to the very springs of character.

"Music is a more potent instrument than any other,"[49] we read in the Republic, because rhythm and harmony find their way into the inward places of the soul, on which they mightily fasten, and it is significant to note in passing, that the musical modes which Plato saw fit to prohibit were the very two which most closely resemble the major and minor scales of our modern music. They were forbidden on the grounds of being, respectively, intoxicating and enervating.

Alberti insisted upon the fact that music expresses moods which are definite, even if not fully translatable, that music is never meaningless, but, on the contrary, gives us the inner essence of things and, in this sense, music is a language.[50]

Singing is also included by Alberti in his emphasis upon music. Singing is a means of expression and its function is not merely to afford pleasure but "to strengthen the growth of thought, feeling and volition."[51] Like speech and movement song can be used for the manifestation of ideals and sentiments of the most varied nature, and may serve the tutor in all branches of knowledge. But, if it is to have its due effect upon the children, if it is to ennoble rather than degrade, we must select with great care among the various possible classes of musical stimulus, which can be set before them, and develop

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[48]Alberti, L. B. Della Famiglia, 113.
[49]Aubel, C. L. B. Alberti, ch. 4.
[50]Behn, Irene. Kunstphilosophen—pp. 113-117.
[51]Mancini, G. B. Vita di L. B Alberti—pp. 33-35.

gradually in the children themselves the power of distinguishing these differences.

To accomplish this purpose it is not sufficient to train them merely to imitate what they hear. They will need an understanding of music itself, power to read the language and interpret it.[52]

3. *Alberti As a Scientist*

Alberti was not only an aesthetic interpreter of fine arts, but according to Gerini he was also an eminent scientist and mathematician, as well as a propounder of hygiene and morals of his day and age.[53]

As a scientist we read in various sources of his keen interest in higher mathematics and in the possibility of applying these mathematical principles to his innumerable devices in the field of optics and mechanics.[54] Alberti was an ardent student of many Saracen and Persian mathematicians. He devoted many years in comprehending and partially translating into Italian the works of that great Bagdad teacher of higher mathematics, "Mohammed ibn Musa al Khowarazini," who wrote the first book in which algebra occurs. Alberti was also a student of Archimedes and a faithful devotee of that renowned medieval scholar, Leonardo Fibonacci.[55] It is stated by Tartaglia that he obtained a great deal of mathematical and mechanical training from Alberti's views. Through the efforts of Tartaglia, the cubic and quadratic equations in algebra were solved.[56]

Alberti endeavored to persuade the parents of Florence to include higher mathematics in their tutoring. Without a thorough familiarity with the principles of geometry and trigonometry, one's education remains incomplete. He believed

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[52]Pope Pius X—Musica come educatione de Alberti—Rome, 1900.
[53]Gerini, G. B. Gli Scrittori Pedagogici Italiani, pp. 77-96.
[54]Symonds, J. A. The Renaissance in Italy, pp. 339-342.
[55]Buoncompagno, L. Bolletino Buoncompagno.
[56]Tartaglia, A. Alberti come un Scienziate, pp. 124-127.

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that both grammar and mathematics were essential for mental development and higher achievement.

Alberti was also a keen student of geography, navigation, and engineering—Giovanni Papini says: "His love of geometry suggests Mihaud's Theory of the geometrical foundation of Greek Culture."[57] He was at that early day and age a student of measurement, laws of proportion and perspective.[58] "In 1457 he discovered the method of representing landscapes and dimnishing figures by means of an instrument, by which small things could in like manner be presented in a larger form, and so enlarged at pleasure.[59] This was an extraordinary innovation in the field of optics and of art. Another scientific achievement of Alberti's is the Camera Obscura[60] in which he shows at one time the stars and moon rising over rocky hills. Great admiration was excited by this apparently mysterious invention. Similar attempts were made by Alberti in reviving notions and hypotheses concerning airships taken largely from the Saracen philosophers and scientists.

Alberti well demonstrated his engineering ability when he attempted to locate the sunken ship in the Lake of Nemi.[61] According to traditional history, a very important ancient trireme lay at the bottom of this lake. Cardinal Colonna commissioned Alberti to raise it, and by various and intricate mathematical calculations, and mechanical devices he located the ship. He succeeded in sending down divers and in bringing up the prow and part of the hull.

Optics was another branch of science materially advanced by him. Symonds says: "It is believed that he anticipated some modern discoveries in optics, and he certainly advanced the science of perspective. Like his compeer, Lionardo,

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[57]Papini, G. Four and Twenty Minds, p. 32.
[58]Symonds, J. A. The Renaissance in Italy, pp. 340-343.
[59]Vassari. Lives of the Painters, p. 44.
[60]Burckhardt, J. Renaissance in Italy, pp. 215-235.
[61]Papini, G. Four and Twenty Minds, p. 34.

Alberti devoted attention to mechanics, and devised machinery for raising sunken ships. Like Leonardo, again, he was never tired of interrogating nature, conducting curious experiments, and watching her more secret operations."[62] He not only invented spectacles, but discovered the dilatation and contraction of the pupil of the eye in animals, and, by dissection of the eye itself, he was able to explain its cause. He was no mean ophthalmologist and he it was who, by his discoveries and foresight, paved the way to the investigation and more scientific theories of vision. Lenses had been known for many centuries among the Greeks, and Pliny, even, mentions the fact that the Roman Emperor Nero used some sort of contrivance by which the combatants in the amphitheatre were brought close up to him, representing, as Wendell Phillips emphasized in his oration on the Lost Arts,[63] an anticipation of our opera glass. During the thirteenth century, Roger Bacon developed the theory of lenses and pointed out some of their applications, but it was Alberti who, near the end of the century, put the rims on lenses and invented the frames by which they are held before the eyes.[64] In his Camaldulese Discussions,[65] some of his notes on this subject have come down to us. He communicated all he learned in optics and kindred subjects to Acquapendente, who made use of the information in his lectures and experiments. In one of Dr. Acquapendente's books, entitled "De Oculo Visus Organo,"[66] he speaks of his obligation to Alberti in these words, "Quod arcanum observatus est, et mihi significatum a Magistro Alberti", whom in another place he calls, "l'oracolo di quell secolo". Indeed Fra Fulgenzio[67] tells us that all that was new in Acquapendente's treatise on vision was by Magistro Alberti himself.

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[62] Symonds, J. A. The Renaissance in Italy, p. 340.
[63] Phillips, W. The Lost Arts.
[64] Buoncompagno, P. Bolletino Buoncompagno.
[65] Camaldulese Discussions, Op. Volg. 11.
[66] Acquapendente De Oculo Visus Organo, pp. 149-152.
[67] Fulgenzio, F. Gli Medici Litterati, Ch. 3.

Another subject in which Alberti was also deeply versed was astronomy. Galileo, coming from the same province and only a few miles away from Florence, was an ardent student of Alberti and knew much about his undertakings. Galileo instead of being jealous of L. B. Alberti, who lived about a century and a half before Galileo, was jealous only for his honor and pre-eminence, calling him "Il mio padre e maestro" —"my father and my master."[68] Alberti was the first to prepare maps and charts of the moon, and to observe that the red light which is seen around it during an eclipse is sunlight reflected from the surface of the earth. Galileo bore witness to his knowledge of selenography when in 1607 he gave an address entitled Gli scolari Fiorentini,[69] in which he mentions Alberti's achievements in the fields of astronomy, optics and various other subjects. We do not possess many details of Alberti's astronomical knowledge, but the broad fact of the indebtedness and attention given by Galileo to Alberti's many and varied conceptions of scientific data, show that it must have been profound and conducive to the true advancement of the science. We note also the following. In 1859 Leopold II, the last Grand Duke of Tuscany, was compelled to abdicate to make way for the incorporation in 1860 of Tuscany with the Kingdom of Italy under Victor Emmanuel. He was accompanied by others of his court. In the frescora painted for him to commemorate Galileo's connection with Florence, there appears along with Leopold and others the likenesses of Alberti and another astronomer and scientist, Fra Paolo Sarpi.

Sound and color he also treated. "Sound," he says in his discussion at the Academy of Florence,[70] "is motion, but not motion of the atmosphere, for it travels to us against the wind and through water. It comes to us like light in waves or pulsations." "Color", he says further, "is caused by the

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[68]Robinson, G. Galileo and Sarpi, pp. 72-89.
[69]Galileo—Gli Scolari Fiorentini. (Discorso) Rome, 1702.
[70]Lettere in Romani e Toscani.

atmosphere, and by the reflection of different rays of light."[71]

Hydrostatics, too, received his careful investigation, and he wrote a treatise on the movements of water, recording correct observations on buoyancy, flotation, and the weight of immersed bodies. Notes of this treatise have been preserved in his "Lettere Romane e Toscani".[72]

We have previously noted his architectural ability, in which he designed many buildings, altars, fountains, etc. Because of his mathematical and mechanical capacity, great military commanders used to consult him as to the construction of forts and ramparts.

He knew the botany of his day. He advanced the knowledge of botany and he is said to have laid out the first botanical garden ever seen in Florence or in any other city of Italy.[73] He also laid out botanical gardens at Venice, Genoa, and the Vatican Gardens at Rome, where he planted many foreign medicinal plants. In one of his discussions[73] in Florence he calls attention to the cinchona plant[74] and its curative properties in cases of malaria. It was after the establishment of these gardens that university botanic gardens were founded in Italy and other countries. These gardens, established originally for beauty, soon attracted attention to the study of plants, especially of medicinal plants, and gave a great impetus to the development of the science of botany.

As a result of Alberti's interest in plants, and in every other phase of nature around him, he made sketches of the flowers, dissecting them as he did animals, pointing out their various parts, studying the growth of trees and the lines that indicated it, and how much might be judged of the seasons in which lines of varying thicknesses occurred, and other details of observation that are supposed to be much more modern.

That the spirit of science and botany was in the air in

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[71]Bonucci, A. Opere Volgare di L. B. Alberti, pp. 77-83.
[72]Mancini, G. M. Vita di L. B. Alberti, page 243.
[73]Camuldelese Discussions, Vol. IV, p. 16.
[74]Mancini, G. B. Vita di L. B. Alberti, Ch. X.

Alberti's time is very well illustrated by the fact that the scientific development of botany was taken up in Italy by various scholars of that period. Edward Lee Greene has told the story of them in his Landmarks of Botanical History in a single paragraph.

"Contemporarily with these German herbalists there flourished in Italy professors of botany at the Universities of Padua, Bologna and Pisa, whom people regarded as the peerless botanists of the time."[75]

Alberti's treatise, De Plantis,[76] is one of the classics in the history of botanical science published at Florence in 1469, and much of the scientific initiative in biological sciences came as a result of this book. Linnaeus said of him in the next century that this botanist was the first in the order of time among real systematists, primus vere systematicus. Its distribution of the 1520 plants then known into fifteen classes —"the distinguishing characters being taken from the fruit, showed the possibility of bringing order, out of what up to this time must almost have seemed the impossible chaos of plant life." It is easy to understand why Linnaeus, who took upon himself the task of correcting and developing this systematization, should have so thoroughly appreciated his great Italian predecessor whose work very probably he found not so much of use as of encouragement.

Alberti invented various instruments of war, scaling ladders, and means of repelling besiegers, and a tread mill catapult for firing a rapid succession of heavy missiles, and various arrangements for throwing down scaling ladders.[78] Alberti is said to have been the first to use a coffer-dam[79] for building foundations at the edge of the water, and announced his ability to obtain a secure foundation for fortifications in this

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[75]Greene, E. L. Landmarks of Botanical History, pp. 97-99.
[76]Alberti, L. B. Opere Volgare, Vol. II, pp. 139-157.
[78]Bonucci, A. Opere Volgare di L. B. Alberti, pp. 76-79.
[79]Mancini, G. M. Vita di L. B. Alberti, p. 243.

way. Some of his under water structures are said to be still in existence in various parts of northern Italy.

4. *The Trattato Della Cura Della Famiglia*

It would be almost impossible to point to one predominant interest of Alberti, so widespread was his interest. The career of politics perhaps appealed least to him. Alberti did not take any active part in regard to the Church. While he was connected with the Roman Curia, he in no way identified himself with clerical duties, devoting himself exclusively to art, architecture, philosophy, education, music, sculpture, engineering, mathematics, literature, and recreational activities of all sorts. Alberti demonstrated in his own career the principle which he invariably taught: that a citizen must press towards the best and most useful in character, in intellectual attainment, in practical achievement. In his own words he says, "I have ever preferred true knowledge, noble duties, the lofty interests of the mind to all the worldly advantages that wealth can offer."[80]

One of the outstanding contributions of Alberti's multitudinous and miscellaneous writings is Della Cura della Famiglia. We may distinguish as its initial thought, that the well-being of the house is dependent directly upon the character and ability of its leader or head of the family. (Patria Potestas of the Romans). He presents, in the form of a dialogue, in which various members of the Alberti take part, his views upon the conditions which make for the security and prosperity and felicity of the house. The first of the four books discusses "the duty of the eldest towards the children, and of the children towards their elders." Some of the things mentioned by Alberti are decency, politeness, obedience, respectfulness, and good speech. The second book treats of the married life, and its basis is true affection and not merely physical satis-

[80]Alberti, L. B. Op. Volg. pp. 61-63.

faction. It also speaks of family unity and welfare. In the third book he considers the circumstances under which its wealth, estate, and household may be best administered, emphasizing economy and thrift. In the fourth he discusses the mutual relations of families and their heads in their multitudinous interests as affecting the stability of the State. Alberti insisted that an observant father can with certainty make himself aware of the tastes, inclinations, desires and capacity of his son. At as early an age as twelve the boy's career may be forecast. In the main, he thinks of temper and bent of character rather than of specific intellectual qualities. The wider his individual attainments, the greater the service rendered by the son of the family to the unit of which he is a part. La *famiglia,* in the mind of Alberti and his colleagues, is a more important unit than the State. It rests on nature, on the tie of blood, upon affection, whereas the state is founded on advantage, for mutual defense and profit, or is the result of conquest—it is simply an artificial device. Furthermore, the educational force of the home is more intimate, personal, and more far reaching than that of the State.[81]

Alberti elaborately considers the following: How the family may be securely established, how it may attain prosperity, longevity, and how it may cultivate and retain friendship, culture, including refinement of speech and habits, etiquette, and respect and love for each other, whether member of family, or member of the State.[82]

5. *Ideal Personality As Portrayed by Alberti.*

Reviewing the many presentations which the Renaissance offers us of the ideal personality fitted to the finest demands of the community, it is not difficult to perceive three salient characteristics. The first is that quality termed by Aristotle μεγαλουγία which corresponds to the higher aspect of the

[81] Alberti, L. B. Della Famiglia pp. 109-113.
[82] Alberti, L. B. Della Famiglia, pt. IV.

Italian "virtu." "We shall find," says Aristotle in the fourth book on Ethics, "That the high-minded man is he who, being truly worthy of great things, holds himself thus worthy. . . For he who holds himself worthy of less than his merits is small-minded, the more so the greater his true excellence." The consciousness of distinction inevitably seeks recognition, and this recognition is honor. Next stands quality, developed especially in the Florence of the high Renaissance.

In the third place, and still more consistent with the Greek spirit, is the note which is struck by Alberti, that of harmony and proportion in the whole personality. The character and actions of the complete personality are always in perfect mutual relation. The excellences which make him what he is, so regulate his life that there is no discord between "virtu" and "onesta", or as we might put it, between person, intelligence, and conduct. The perfect gentleman of the Renaissance, winning the heights of Platonic thought as the culmination of his wisdom, finds his highest satisfaction in ideal love, attaining therein to a complete reconciliation of earthly and divine beauty.

6. *The Importance of the Home*

The Humanist was keenly alive to the importance of the first years of infancy in the development of the child. Parental care must be directed from the outset to each of the phases of education. It is most desirable that wherever possible, the mother should act as nurse to her child; if resort must be had to strangers the greatest heed must be taken in their choice. Due regard should be had, not only for character but to the manners and general comportment, the speech, and accent of all who surround the child; rustic provincialisms, and profane or ungentlemanly deportment and expressions are often acquired from the nurse and others, and are with difficulty gotten rid of in later boyhood or girlhood.

As soon as infancy is passed the child begins to acquire in-

formation and knowledge, to form moral habits, and to develop physical traits and characteristics. This training, which is imperative, is still the chief responsibility of the mother, to whom it falls to impart the first lessons of love, devotion towards God, Country and Home,—lessons which form the sound basis of future moral and social stability. So, too, the qualities of respect for elders, courtesy towards inferiors and the helpless, and respect for the men of wisdom as well.

In complete harmony with his day and age Alberti claims that the patriarchial powers of the father and husband are at the root of the stability of the family. "Never," says Alberti, "would I allow my wife to regard me as other than the master. It was ever a mark of honesty in a woman to keep silence in the society of men, and to listen; to refrain from being talkative or gad-about; to avoid putting amusement before home duties."[83]

The conception of subordination he bases upon considerations of physique and temperament, "for a woman is by nature passive, shrinking, gentle and unstable." He was opposed to woman's suffrage, he maintained that women if drawn into the world of political struggles will lose their charm and sweetness and delicacy of character and will be unable to give the proper attention to their home duties. And he said the political gain to women will never compensate society for the loss it suffers in taking women out of the home and the family to mix in politics. The difference between this view and that of the more developed Renaissance is quite conspicuous. According to Alberti the whole duty of man was loyalty to his family, past, present, and future. It was a triple duty:

1. He must preserve his ancestry.
2. He must protect his living family.
3. He must propagate his posterity.

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[83]Woodward, W. H. Education During the Renaissance, page 58.

The Romans expressed all of this by one word, *pius*. The Homo Pius was the man who did these three things.

He further states that home training is to be devoted, primarily, to the formation of right personal habits, as, for instance, in eating and drinking, in which the most careful moderation should be inculcated from the first.

Amusements, games and other recreational activities, mingling with other children, who will never, by a well brought-up child, be reproached with the misfortunes or lower station of their parents; demeanor and posture; all these are essentials demanding close attention and precaution in the first five years of childhood. It will be needful to have regard to the dress suitable to children from the point of view of health, and of self-respect, as such luxuries of soft beds, or silk or too fine linen garments should be scrupulously avoided.

In brief, a healthy, hardy habit of body, an affectionate and yet high-spirited moral temper, a reverent and modest bearing and an intellectual acquisition, are the main qualities which the home training of the first five years of childhood should aim at instilling. Furthermore, he urges that the example of parents, and of all who may come into contact with the children, reenforce precepts at this stage of education; and this influence and inculcation may be early extended by pointing to the esteem in which citizens of distinction are held.

7. *Physical Education*

In Alberti we find a careful and comprehensive set of rules as to food, sleep, physical exercise, and clothing of children. While modern science rejects some of these rules, most of them are regarded as sound in practice. Plenty of outdoor exercise, clothing loose, comfortable, simple, and not too warm, plain food with but little meat or sugar, proper hours of sleep, and beds not too soft, early retiring and rising, and cold baths, are means prescribed to harden the body and prepare it to

resist the attacks of disease.[84] Alberti repeats the celebrated aphorism of Juvenal, "A sound mind in a sound body", which also sums up Locke's educational theory.[85]

From the treatise of Alberti—"Educazione fisica dei fanciulli" we have the following:

"A' faniculli, che sono per eta cosi deboli che quasi sostengono se, pui si loda il giacere in quiete molta e in lungo ozio: pero che costoro stando troppo ritti e soffrendo fatica, s'indeboliscono. Ma a faniculletti pui forteruzzi, ed agli altri tutti, troppo nuoce l'ozio; empionsi per l'ozio le venne di flemma; stanno acquidosi e sciabli, e lo stomaco sdegnoso; i nervi pigre, e tutto il corpo tardo e addormentato; e pui l'ingagno per troppo ozio si appanna ed offuscase, ed ogni virtu nell animo diventa inerte e stracchiccia. E per contrario, molto giova l'esercizio; la matura si vivifica; i nervi s'ausans alle fatiche, fortificasi ogni membro assottigliasi il sangue, impongono le carmi sode, l'ingegno sta pronto a liedo, etc."[86]

Alberti required as a correlative to a fine intellectual humanism a standard of physical excellence and personal bearing. Games and all sorts of recreational activities, particularly ball playing, boxing, riding, swimming, were suggested for muscular development, and idleness and lounging were to be repressed. The purpose of such training was to develop an easy, graceful bearing, suppleness, and dignity of figure. The social end was always on his mind. Personality was composed of mind, of character, and of bodily presence; with all that pertains to it. In brief it was the four-fold development of the spiritual, physical, mental and moral nature of man, "The individual will be known by his courtesy, his refinement of speech, by his general presence and bearing."[87]

Preservation of health and training of the youth is Alberti's

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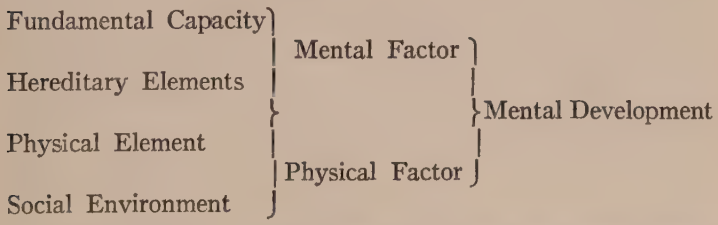
[84]Mancini, G. M. Vita di L. B. Alberti, p. 236-239.
[85]Gerini, G. B. Gli Scrittori Pedagogici Italiani, p. 167.
[86]Alberti, L. B. Della Famiglia, lib 1, ediz. Vonucci, pp. 73-75.
[87]Pelligrini, M.—L. B. Alberti—page 101.

slogan. "Training in health habits is the easiest, shortest, and likeliest to produce virtuous, useful, and able men in their respective callings."[88] The parents, he maintained, ought to inculcate in the child's mind the habits of personal health and good gentlemanly conduct. Alberti further discusses the following topics: Prudence, Industry, Self-Reliance, Self-Control, Honor, Obedience, Patriotism, Loyalty and Hygiene. He says: "Of course it will be assumed here that both parents are in optimum health and themselves happy, or at least that they are making a sincere effort to surround their children with restrained tempers and sunny dispositions. Great care is to be taken that nothing mean or vile shall be shown to children; their environments shall be beautiful and ennobling, though simple."[89] At a very early age the child is to have plenty of physical exercise. Suitable playthings are to be provided, precaution taken against fear of darkness, and, by gentleness combined with firmness, a manly spirit is to be produced. Beauty of mind and body are to be harmoniously united. Intellectual as well as physical activity is to be required of all children.

In order to give a graphic idea of the inter-relation of the physical and intellectual, using intellectual in its broader sense, the following is presented:[90]



Physical culture includes health, nourishment, rest, repair,

[88]Pelligrini, M.—L. B. Alberti—page 116.
[89]Alberti, L. B.—Della Famiglia, page 213.
[90]Aubel, C.—L. B. Alberti, pp. 102-105.

trained powers and practice in using them. Our senses are the means by which we learn. The spiritual part of the being is shut up in the body and depends upon the organs of sense for its food. A grave defect in a sense organ results in the crippling of the corresponding mental power. Although the mind is more active than its physical environment, and its activity not limited to the stimulation produced by separate sensations, nevertheless its activity is restricted in a marked degree by the failure to receive certain sensations, either through defective organs or lack of physical education.

"Life is the organizing power which vitalizes, directs and controls all the faculties of the soul and body."[92] Sickness or infirmity means a lessening of vitality and a consequent lessening of the energy of the body: it means less clearness and force of mind. "Sickness and infirmity are best warded off by that physical training which means cleanliness, fresh air, proper nourishment, rest, exercise, clothing and comfortable shelter."[93] This alone gives the necessary physical foundation. Since physical culture is related to intellectual development in several ways, normal sensory powers must be trained; defective physical apparatus must be repaired and supplemented; and proper sense stimuli and exercise must be supplied; especially during the period of greatest sense hunger. "There is nothing in the intellect that was not previously in the senses," according to Alberti. The physical organism gives the foundation for that rational life that means the satisfying, according to reason, of the highest cravings of our nature.

Physical participation in intellectual activities is two-fold in Alberti's scheme.[94] First, are the senses; they start the flow of energy, but in turn mental activity is deepened, broadened, colored, enlivened, by expression in language, song, music, art, and performance of duties. This expression in turn, reacts to

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[92]Londi, J.—Alberti, L. B.—Vita di—page 197.
[93]Londi, J. Alberti L. B.—Vita di—page 197.
[94]D'Ancona, A.—Manuale della letteratura Italiana—page 75

produce in the mind a more vivid appreciation of the thing acted upon, and to awaken keener longings, desires, surges, yearnings, and strivings.

The spirit of self-activity and general self-helpfulness was greatly emphasized by Alberti. The first step in self-helpfulness must be the consciousness of the power to do. This comes from successful doing. The child must be taught to do his own work well and not be a hindrance to others. He must be encouraged to express himself in games, and other recreational pursuits. But he cannot succeed in that which is beyond his powers or outside his experience.

Among the many modern movements for the betterment of physical conditions, in line with Alberti's views, there are two that illustrate the value which educators place upon physical culture. One of these is the work of the Psychological Clinic conducted in connection with the University of Pennsylvania. The other is the method of education worked out by Doctor Montessori. The work of the Psychological Clinic is described in Arthur Holmes' book on Child Study. It deals with the physical defects or unfavorable environment of children who are retarded in school or otherwise in need of such attention. By a series of examinations, medical or surgical aid, proper nourishment, and, if necessary, a change of environment, the subject is helped where human help is of any use, and so far as is possible is given the physical basis for the development of his mental powers.

Alberti's attitude towards physical education is best expressed in his art of education.

The art of education[95] seemed to be for Alberti synonymous with the art of hygiene in its broadest sense—the formation and the maintenance of a healthful life, mental and moral, as well as physical, and he gives us this simple rule:—"Accustom yourself to a healthy mode of living." He goes into minute details as to the care of the body in general and its various

[95]Aubel, C. L. B. Alberti.

parts, and the effect of environment on the general health. His rules for health are summed up as follows:—Plenty of open air, exercise (mental and physical), and sleep, plain diet, no wine except moderate use at dinner or supper, not too warm or torturous clothing. Alberti in Della Famiglia bitterly opposes the use of cosmetics and other superficialities and deceptive beautifiers.

"Veggasi nel Gov. della famiglia la pittura della la vita villica, a la descrizione del convito, e quella maravigliosa scena di famiglia, dove Agnolo, veggendo la sua donna tutta pinta e impomiciata, dice: Tristo a me! e ove t'imbrattasti cosi il viso? Forse t'albattesti a qualche padella di cucina? etc."

Alberti points out the absolute need of gymnastics in order to maintain a healthful life and make the body beautiful. In his words—"Beauty and health cannot be divorced. That which produces health produces beauty; that which produces beauty will invariably produce health. Exercises are essential to health and beauty. All exercises should be taken methodically—that is, regularly and rhythmically. Ugly exercises never developed beauty and never developed the true perfection of health."[96] On page 89 of the same book he asks "What does beauty include? It includes first unity; without unity, there is no beauty; second, it includes power; and third, endurance."

8. *The Doctrine of Purpose*

In inquiring into the meaning of purpose, Alberti says, "It means the ability of the individual to direct life in view of the whole situation including what he is and what he expects to do. Men need to know all about themselves individually and scientifically, since by knowing better my own structure, the better can I plan my life, the more I feel able to predict the behavior of myself and others."[97] Freedom in human action

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[96]Gerini, G. B. Gli Scrittori Pedagogici, page 69.

[97]Gianfrancesco, L.—Filosfi Italiani del Rinasciamento, pp. 89-102.

means action that is based on the individual's complete view of circumstances; it does not mean mere whim or license. The modern terminology of this can be expressed as Situation-Response. If I can admit in the situation of the mature person the power of planning life and seeing the future, then behind the physical elements of the situation is the sense of the present situation in the whole scheme of the world. There is a great deal more in such a situation-response than the same response of an animal to food. They are fundamentally different. The higher and more complex the response to a situation the freer is the response.

The assertion of freedom does not indicate we are likely to rise above nature so as to be above the temptations and evils of life solely by the power of purpose to make plans for ourselves. The fact that human beings are capable of free purposive action does not remove them from the order of nature. There is no ground in purpose to give up any religious tenet, nor does it imply any supernatural element in the universe. It does not put us in any position as to the meaning of life. It is, however, of enormous and central importance in education.[98]

In general, it is only relatively few who creatively plan their lives for larger purposes. It is only a small fraction who live the completely free life. To admit that not everybody is capable of wholly free action is not to deny the importance of purpose. No one supposes we have reached the millenium. We have not yet arranged nature so that we are free from obstructions from outside in following our purposes. The fact of the limitation of purpose is evident from simple observation.

Our inquiry is not how many men are free, but is directed toward the most important thing about men in general. And that cannot be determined by a statistical survey of human life. "If only one man existed whose life is wholly purposeful, he would be the only desirable type, the one toward whom we would

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[98]Alberti, L. B.—Tranquilita Dell Anima, pp. 89-102.

direct education. Even if he were only partly free he would be nearer the ideal than the rest of us."[99] There are many who are purposeful. Most people are at times very free to plan their lives.

THE CONCLUSION OF THE CONSIDERATION OF PURPOSE[100]

The power to plan our days is the most important and precious thing about ourselves as human beings. If education is to make man free, what kind of world ought he to go out into? The world that ministers to freedom has at least these characteristics:

(a) *Security*, that is, a world that is subject to revolution, banditry, etc., is not fit for the purpose to thrive in. Security is one of the essentials of a free society.

(b) *Economy*, that is, material goods and human talents are not wasted, but are used with reasonable adaptation to their supply. The work of the world ought to be parceled out so that the right people will be doing their right work.

(c) *Productivity*, that is, enough to live vigorous lives.

(d) *Equity*, that is, a world in which men get their deserts. There should be a social justice which will reward a man according to his merits.

(e) *Beauty*, that is, it must tempt and stimulate us to live for well-chosen purposes. It must do more than nourish our bodies; it must stimulate us to think, feel, enjoy, and put forth our strength; it must be full of spiritual values as well as material support.

These are the essential elements of a social order that will help men to be free, to choose and put into effect their own purposes. Hence in education we ought to interpret for our children the world in which we live and then give them a vision of a world in which they can live purposively and leave a

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[99]Gerini, G. B.—Scrittori Pedagogici Italiani—page 120.
[100]Behn, I.—L. B. Alberti—page 183-191.

world in which others can live purposively. This gives us an outline of Alberti's social doctrine that can be applied to education.

9. *Function of Letters, Sciences and Arts*

Alberti in his "Gli Esercizi Letterarii ed il Maestro" ably defends the function of letters in pedagogy during the Quattrocento.

"Etale, in mente dell' Alberti, l'utilito delle lettere che senza de esse, per quanto uno appartenga e nobile stirpe, sara reputato uomo rozzo . . . Le lettere stanno benissimo colla gentilezza, e sono di grande ornamento alla virtu degli uomini, dando grazia, autorita e nome. . . . ."[101]

The art of letters is a study adapted to all times and to all circumstances, to the investigation of fresh knowledge or to the recasting and application of old. Hence the importance of grammar and of the rules of composition must be recognized at the outset, as the foundation on which the whole study of literature must rest.

Alberti like Vittorino treated grammar under four heads, which he required to be thoroughly familiar before definite reading of authors, or continuous composition was entered upon. These four were (1) vocabulary, (2) easy passages from poetry, (3) historical narrative, (4) the proper enunciation of all Greek, Latin and Italian languages. These, the quattuor officia grammaticorum, were in the eyes of Alberti the foundation of good pedagogy.[102] Upon the foundation of grammar followed the art of letters.

Letters also stand in harmony with gentle manners according to Alberti, they dignify the mind, and add poise and grace and weight to personality. The difference between an educated man and one ignorant of the past is like that between a de-

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[101]Gerini, G. B.—Gli Scrittori Pedagogici Italiani, page 185.
[102]Gerini, G. B.—Gli Scrittori Pedagogici Italiani, pp. 101-107.

veloped adult and a child. "Letters can never be a hindrance, they result in a distinct source of strength to all who follow any profession whatsoever."[103]

As to the materials to be studied further, Alberti indirectly points out many minute details. Considering the various subjects from this point of view rather briefly they are: Reading and writing of Greek, Latin and Italian; oral reading of Italian (Tuscan) should be diligently taught by the parents and should be made interesting. He placed an immense importance on public speaking and conversational speech.

Good reading serves various ends. Grace, self-expression and readiness in conversation and public speaking are amongst them. The habit of reading Greek or Latin aloud is a valuable aid to sensing the meaning of the passage. Matter thus read is far more securely impressed upon the mind. Alberti recommends a host of Greek and Latin writers to be followed and imitated before undertaking the study of the Italian language and literature.

"Vuole L'Alberti che i giovani si tolgano per guide buoni autori; imparando la grammatica su Prisciano e Servio, e facendosi sopratutto famigliari Tullio, Livio, Sallastio, singolarissimi ed emendatissimi autori. La lingua Latina poi, consiglia L'Alberti di apprenderla da coloro, che l'ebbero perfetta . . . . . finalmente vuole che i padre si convincano che le lettere non nuocono mai, anzi giovano sempre a qualsi-voglia esercizio."[104]

Like all his contemporaries, Alberti is an enthusiast in classical learning; but he is distinguished from them by a very decided taste for the sciences, and in particular for the natural sciences.

The Middle Ages had completely neglected the study of nature. The art of observing was ignored by the dialecticians, who would know nothing of the physical universe except through the theories of Aristotle or the dogmas of the ec-

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[103]Aubel, C.—L. B. Alberti—page 29.
[104]Gerini, G. B.—Gli Scrittori Ped. Italiani—page 186.

clesiastical and canonical manuscripts; who attached no value to the study of the material world, the transient and despised abode of immortal souls; and, who, moreover, flattered themselves that they could discover at the end of their syllogisms all that was essential to know about it. Alberti is certainly the first, in point of time, of that endless line of Renaissance educators, who place the sciences in the first rank among the studies of human thought.

The scholar of the Middle Age knew very little about the world. Alberti, writing to a Florentine boy, requires the following for a comprehensive view of nature.[105]

> "As to the knowledge of the facts of nature he writes to Pandolfino—I would have you devote yourself to them with great care, so that there shall be neither sea, river, pond, brook, stream, nor fountain, whose fish you do not know. All birds of the air, all the trees, shrubs, flowers, and fruits of the forests, all the grasses of the earth, all the metals concealed in the depths of the abysses, all the mysteries of the celestial, terrestial and marine portions of the universe, none of these should be unknown to you."

Nothing is omitted, it is observed, from what constitutes the science of the universe or the knowledge of man. It is further to be noticed that Alberti wishes his pupil not only to know, but to love and experience nature. He recommends the children and youths of Florence to go and read their lessons in the midst of meadows, woods, and gardens. Alberti, who was the precursor of Rousseau on this point as upon some others, thinks there is a gain in spiritual health by refreshing the imagination and giving repose to the spirit, through the contemplation of the beauties of nature.

The position of mathematical studies in Italy during the Quattrocento was remarkable. The Italians held the foremost place in the pursuit of this, as of the other sciences. About

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105 Alberti, L. B.—Della Famiglia—page 289.

the year 1400 Padua was more closely identified with mathematics than any other University. Vittorino and Alberti, both deriving their educational ideas from Padua, attached great weight to the inclusion of algebra, geometry, and astronomy, and what we should now designate rudimentary mechanics. The development of arithmetic and higher mathematics was actively advancing during this period. In arithmetic Italy's contribution has been even greater than in any of the other departments of mathematics. Nothing shows so well the practical genius of the Italians as their development of all the processes of arithmetical calculation that are now so familiar. The Italians were the great commercial people of the Middle Ages, with their vessels on the Mediterranean and their travelers and representatives in the East and their immense trade, and they were the bankers and the brokers and the medium of interchange between East and West. Prof. Walsh says: "It is not so surprising then that they should have been the inventors of our modern arithmetical processes for necessity is ever the mother of invention, but they must be given due credit for what they accomplished."[106]

Arabic numerals had been introduced into Florence by Filonacci, Tartaglia, Paciolo, and Leonardo da Vinci,[106½] rendering progress in this subject possible. There was a general re-establishment of methods of calculations of more intricate mathematics throughout Florence. Thus arithmetic had been and was a substantial subject in his scheme of educa-

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[106]Walsh, J. J. What Civilization owes to Italy, pp. 210-212.

[106½]We owe most of our modern knowledge of these older Italian mathematicians to the lifelong labors and enthusiastic investigative spirit of Prince Buoncompagni Ludovisi, whose favorite life study was the history of mathematics. His Bolletino Buoncompagno was very well known to the special students of mathematics all over the world and contained numberless papers by the princely editor himself. He spent immense sums of money for various mathematical publications that otherwise might not have seen the light and expended a fortune on his library, which contained over 600 manuscripts and nearly 20,000 printed books. In his Bolletino he includes Alberti.

tion. It was the Italians who arranged the problems to which arithmetic could be applied into different classes such as the Rule of Three, Interest, Profit and Loss, Discount, Longitude and Time and the other similar classifications which have made so much for the simplification of the teaching of arithmetic itself, as well as of arithmetical processes.

The Italians literally accomplished more for this science and especially the great foundations of it than all the other nations combined. Dr. James J. Walsh has much to say in his books[107] on this subject. "Whatever the reason may have been, the reduction of fundamental mental operations to 'numeration, addition, subtraction, multiplication, division, raising to powers and extraction of roots' represent a thorough simplification of arithmetic as a practical science. Indian mathematicians enumerated some 20 principal processes and sometimes a dozen of subsidiary ones, and the Italians were the first to reduce the complex system to its modern simplicity." Ball in his History of Mathematics says that the processes of commercial arithmetic were first introduced into Florence in the thirteenth and fourteenth century and have remained practically unchanged ever since.[108] For many years before this influx of scientific inquiry, Alberti had already associated with a great many Saracen mathematicians and philosophers while he was in the Orient. On his return to Florence he was convinced that mathematics as well as other sciences were to be included in the tutor's program of instruction. The subjects of geometry and astronomy which covered physics, geography, oceanography and meteorology, were particularly mentional by Alberti. Indeed we must infer that his predominant interest lay in the mathematical sciences. Alberti reminds us of a traditional event—"Geometry has its utilities, for Archimedes prolonged the defense of Syracuse by his science."[109] From the same manuscript we find Alberti,

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[107]Walsh, J. J. What Civilization Owes to Italy, pp. 230-240.
[108]Ball, S. History of Mathematics, pp. 100-120.
[109]Sibley, H. The Renaissance Educators—page 92.

in reference to Astronomy, saying, "We must bear in mind the larger place this subject filled in the general knowledge of earlier centuries. La Divina Commedia indicates a wide popular acquaintanceship with the map of the heavens and the laws of the constellations."[110] An acquaintance with astronomy was necessary to the explanation of frequent allusions in classical literature. Alberti further recommends a knowledge of the constellations, planets, the sun and moon, so far as relates to the laws of their revolutions or conjunctions, as a delightful study leading to a better understanding of the celestial bodies.[111] No other particular educational motive is assigned, but apart from its practical utility, the main value of this knowledge lies apparently in its cultivation of a certain spirit of awe which lifts the mind above mundane cares.

The position of the Humanists concerning astrology is easier to define, and it is of significance. Vergerius has not a word to say concerning it; Bruni is contemptuous of it; Aeneas Sylvius was against it; Vittorino and Guarino utterly discarded astrology and held it in mock respect. The first great onslaught against the whole body of astrological and kindred lores was due to Alberti; no Humanist believed in it; and not a few openly denounced it. The contribution to scientific truth made by Humanism in ridiculing this powerful stronghold of superstition needs recognition.

Alberti frequently affirms the educational value of fine arts, notably of painting, architecture, sculpture and music. In his Tranquilita, Alberti says. "Riconosce tuttavia l'alta potenza educativa del canto e della pittura. . . . . considera come la maestra di tutte le arti od almeno il loro principale ornamente."[112] Music to him was symbolic of all that makes for harmonious development and in one of his passages he advises architects and builders to determine the correctness and exactness of proportion by following the laws of rhythm and pro-

[110]Camaldulese Discussions, pp. 168-173.
[111]Camaldulese Discussions, pp. 101-107.
[112]Alberti, L. B Tranquilita pp. 1, pp 11-15

portion as expressed in music. Music was given to man to be the guardian and inspirer of all that is best and noblest in human thought and emotion. He seemed to lay special stress upon its value as a recreation, and a diversion from difficulties and tribulations of life. Dancing to music was apparently approved by Alberti as well as other Humanists. In his De Pictura, page nine, he says, concerning painting, "If the child be of nature inclined to paint with a pen, or to form images in stone or tree, he should not be therefrom withdrawn or nature be rebuked which is to him benevolent; but, putting one to him which is in that craft wherein he delighteth most excellent."[113] Alberti first turns to ancient and excellent masters in the field such as, Claudius, Titus or Hadrian who were educated in drawing, painting and sculpture. The direct advantages of a knowledge of drawing (to captains in the field) were obvious; such are "the devising and improving engines of war, the making of strategical maps, and in the planning of houses";[114] every man of position will find this art necessary as well as useful. Particularly in illustration of history, geography or travel "a man shall profit more in one week by figures and charts, well and carefully made, than he shall by reading or hearing of a certain event."[115] He concludes that pictorial illustrations of historical narratives are of a great aid to imagination.

10. *Educational Aim According to Alberti*

There seems to be no doubt that the Humanists as a group were profoundly convinced of the practical character of the classical studies. It was said long ago of Vittorino that the purpose of education was to him the development of the complete citizen. Vergerius is anxious to set forth the ideal of education as the perfection of the man as a citizen, which he found in Aristotle. Vittorino writes to Ambrogio, quoting Cicero with approval: "virtutis laus omnis in actione con-

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[113]Alberti, L. B. DePictura, p. 9.
[114]Alberti, L. B. De Pictura, p. 104.
[115]Papini, G. Cervelli, Lib. IV.

sistit." But apart from the broader effects of classical culture it was held that on nearly every side of practical life the best preparation and guidance attainable was to be derived from the study of ancient books. Aristotle's Politics is the profoundest manual of statecraft; Vegetius and Caesar are the best guides to the art of war; Vergil the best treatise on agriculture. Xenophon, to whose book on the Control of the Household and the Estate, Alberti was much indebted, is the third Greek author recommended. In all departments of government, in war, justice, council, and domestic policy, literature is the one sure source of practical wisdom.

Alberti's purport of education is defined as "the improvement of the native capacity thus recognized by discipline, by the setting forth of a high standard of duty and interest in the home, reinforced by the study of arts and letters."[116] Patriotism, self-sacrifice, courage, restraint, and the active virtues, were regarded as amongst the most important fruits of a sound education; whence sprang also a more worthy view of life, its interests and its opportunities.

An education purely bookish is not to Alberti's taste. He counts less upon books than upon experience and mingling with men and women; upon the observation of things, and upon the natural suggestions and stimulations of the mind.

"Things should precede words." On this point Alberti anticipates Comenius, Rousseau and all modern educators.[117]

Citizenship being the highest aim of education, we are prepared to find that the training of the young is a matter of state concern. This is not lost sight of by these theorists. Alberti definitely affirms this position, although it is in relation to character that he regards the action of the state as essential. The community is directly interested in the virtuous up-bring-

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[116]Woodward, H. W.—Education During the Renaissance—page 60.

[117]Papini, G. Cervelli, Lib. IV.

ing of its future members, since good citizenship redounds to the profit of the state not less than to the advantage of the individual. One may remember, however, the close analogy of the Italy of this age and ancient Greece in respect not only to political but also of social and ethical problems. The attempt, therefore, to mould the social order on Hellenic lines was by no means wholly visionary. But in the Quattrocento the conception of the perfect citizen involved, as a necessary condition, that of the full development of the individual. To the humanist educator this carried the limitation of obedience to Christian faith and morality; in this way was secured a working compromise between the claims of Church, State and Personality in the training of the complete man.

11. *Originality of Alberti*

In a discourse carried on by Alberti at Fiesole in the organization known as Riunione della Filosofia e Letteratura Italiani, he points out the importance of early chilhood training. The child or fanciulla is a happy bundle of perpetual motion and boundless curiosity, and the best way to turn his traits into the right channels is the constant problem of the mother and her assistants.

Educational experience shows that a child will learn more rapidly if his curiosity leads him to his information, provided the information that the teacher gives him answers to the questions he has been wondering about. According to Alberti, which sounds as if it was said yesterday. . . "He will learn best by doing." Alberti also emphasized the need of social mingling of children in an adequate and beneficial way. "When he talks with other children, goes with them to places of interest, has to give and take with them he will adventure personally into a wider understanding of the world around him into wider social interests."[118]

Dramatizing the things which fill their minds is the very essence of instruction.

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[118]Aubel, C.—L. B. Alberti, page 22

Alberti's suggestions on technique, methods of instruction, and subjects may be summed up in the following rule: "Make the subject matter as pleasant and attractive as it can possibly be made, combine instruction with amusement."[119] By amusement he usually meant gymnastic exercises, playing, and various other means of recreation.

While teaching is in process there should be no idleness from the beginning to the end,—either of minds or hands. Children love to be busy and this is one of the principal reasons for success in this direction.

In teaching children to work with their minds and hands, two main principles should be observed by the parents and tutors according to Alberti: "first, criticism of the work should always be constructive, and second, wherever possible, the children ought to be encouraged to help one another."[120] This idea of children getting along amicably together and assisting each other is one of the most important and most stressed lessons of the present day.

Nor was it that he simply dipped into these studies, that he was, as it were, content to wade in their shallows. He sounded all their known waters, and was destined, as we shall afterwards see, to reach depths that others had never fathomed, and to bring to light unheard of treasures, which he never for an instant retained in his own possession, but made immediately the property of those capable of appreciating their value and of turning them to account. In this way according to Mancini, Aubel and others, Galileo, Kepler, Sarpi, Acquapendente, the eminent surgeon of Padua, and Ostilio Riccio the celebrated mathematician of the same seat of learning, and the eminent scientist Dr. Harvey, were all indebted directly or indirectly to Alberti.[121]

What distinguished Alberti from the other writers of his

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[119] Alberti, L. B. Della Famiglia, p. 88.
[120] Mancini, G. M. Vita di Alberti. pp. 241-249.
[121] Aubel, C. L. B. Alberti, pp. 67-103.

period is the fresh view he obtained looking at scholastic questions from the scientific, hygienic, or more concretely, the medical point of view. Alberti was a strong individualist. He maintains that each member of the family or (pupil) should be treated individually and separately and should be diagnosed and dealt with by methods which best suit the specific conditions.

Here, obviously, Alberti states quite explicitly and practically the principle of educational individualism, which has been the watchword of all progress in education from his age to ours. Most of his predecessors and indeed many successors viewed education as a uniform process: they presented the same subjects in the same way and expected the same results.

He illustrated in his own career the principle which he invariably taught, that a man must press towards the best, in character, personality, in intellectual acquisition, and in practical achievement. In his own words, "I have ever preferred true knowledge, noble studies, the lofty interests of the mind to all the worldly advantages that wealth can offer."[122]

These early Renaissance notions of Alberti, that is, to foster healthy bodies and alert minds, to teach children to look for the causes back of the effects in life, to instil right habits and right thinking are indeed the modern principles of our whole kindergarten and elementary system of training.

This is perhaps one of the most comprehensive bits of educational interpretation contributed by Leon Battista Alberti.

Aside from these views on pedagogy, Alberti was versed in Hebrew, Greek, Latin and mathematics, of which we have already spoken; he mastered poetry, using the Dantesque meter, the ottava rima and terza rima; and he was proficient in history, astronomy, geometry, magnetism, botany, mineralogy, hydraulics, accoustics, the rising and falling of objects in air and water, the reflection of light from curved surfaces, spheres, mechanics, civil and military architecture, sculpture, painting,

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[122]Woodward, W. H. Education During the Renaissance, page 52.

and that subject which, next to mathematics, had the greatest fascination for him, philosophy. He was the first humanist to apply the method of empirical inquiry to the phenomena of cognition; he led the way to that emancipation from the authority of Aristotle, Galen, Albertus Magnus and Aquinas which characterizes the philosophical thought of the seventeenth century. His interests were those of a humanist and practical teacher, and his study of philosophy was rather the product and accompaniment of his educational activity than its originating impulse. Had he been less many-sided he might have achieved epoch-making results in this subject. His outstanding contribution is Della Famiglia, though many of the ideas expressed in this work were taken from Xenophon's book, The Control of the Household and the Estate.

V.

PICCOLOMINI, AENEAS SYLVIUS.

1. *Life and Characteristics of Aeneas Silvio Piccolomini*

Aeneas Silvio Piccolomini was born October 18, 1405—the eldest of eighteen, from a noble, but impoverished family of Siena. His infancy was not uneventful: at three years of age he fell from a well, was taken up, as supposed with a mortal wound in his head; at eight was tossed by a bull. At the age of twenty-two he left his father's house, heir to no more than his noble name, went to Siena, was maintained by his relations, and studied law and letters. The war between Florence and Siena drove him from his native city to seek his fortunes. Domenico Capranica, named as Cardinal by Pope Martin V., rejected by Pope Eugenius, espoused the cause of the Council of Basle. He engaged the young Piccolomini as his secretary. After a perilous voyage Piccolomini reached Genoa, traveled to Milan, where he saw the great Duke Filippo Mario, and passed the snowy St. Gothard to Basle. So, his earlier life was that of an adventurer, a time serving politician, a skillful diplomat, a man of the world, and a brilliant writer on many themes.

He traveled extensively, served several masters, and was used in embasises by the emperor and the pope. He spent several years in Switzerland and Germany, and visited also England, Ireland and Scotland. He attended the reformatory Council of Basel as clerk, and advocated its interests against the papal party, but afterwards changed his views and was rewarded with the bishopric of Triesti (1447), a year after his ordination. In 1449 he became bishop of Siena, in 1457 a cardinal, in 1458 a pope, assuming the name of Pius II. (with

reference to the words of Virgil: "Sum pius Aeneas"). During his pontificate of six years he labored to strengthen the papal power, in which he succeeded, and to rouse Europe against the Turks, in which he failed. He recanted, in the Bull "Execrabilis", his former liberal principles, and condemned his writings, comparing himself to Saul, who had ignorantly persecuted the Church of God and the Holy See. He lived in great simplicity, was liberal to the poor, forgiving to his enemies, and loved the solitude of the country and quiet study. He died after a journey to Ancona, where he hoped to lead an expedition against the Turks. "The warning hand of time," says Voigt, "wrought in him a kind of moral revolution which, however, did not express itself in religious depth for this was always foreign to his nature, not in too sour morals, at which his friends would have laughed. He had luckily got rid of priestly ordination until an age of life when the sensual appetities needed not to be resited, but were losing vitality and vigor."

Platina,[123] who knew him personally, quotes a number of his wise and witty sentences, among which are the following.

"Without virtue there is no true joy. Common men should value learning as silver, noblemen as gold, princes as jewels. Good physicians do not seek the money but the health of the sick.—Great controversies are decided by the good human laws and not by the sword—A citizen should look upon his family as subject to the city, city to his country, his country to the world, and the world to God.—The chief place with kings is slippery—As all rivers run into the sea, so do all vices into courts. The tongue of the flatterer is a king's greatest plague. Men ought to be presented to dignities, and not dignities to men. Some men had offices and did not deserve them and had them not. Poor physicians kill the body, and ignorant priests the soul. Virtue enriched the clergy, but vice made them poor. No book is so stupid that one cannot draw some-

[123]Vita Pii II.

thing out of it. A miracle should always be regarded with mistrust. You must deal with men according to their natures." The many apothegms spread through his voluminous writings are very remarkable and profuse. In conversation also Piccolomini exhibited similar sparkling wit and shrewdness.

Piccolomini, like his contemporary Alberti, was one of the greatest scholars of his day and age. He was a voluminous writer and contributor to education. In 1449, he had a dream so vivid that he wrote to Carajal giving him an account of it. The story briefly is that he was conducted by the Chancellor to heaven (where he saw Eugenius, the Emperor Albert, and many of the illustrious dead). The impression of this dream was so profound and lasting that, in 1453, it suggested a work full of poetic fancy and reminiscences of Dante, Boccaccio and Petrarch. It is called the Dialogue. He is conducted by St. John the Evangelist and St. Bernardino to the kingdom of the dead, and Piero de Noceto and others join the twain. They meet the prophet Elijah, Constantine the Great, Vegio, the poet, Valla the humanist, and the Almighty Himself appears. Dreams and the Chase, Free Will, Predestination, Heaven, and History are among the subjects discussed.

Piccolomini was very much interested in geography and history. His interest in northern nations induced him to epitomize Jordane's History of the Goths, which he had read in a German monastery and later, when he became Pope, he recast the Decades of Flavio Biondo for popular use.[124] It is a work that deals largely with Roman antiquities, in which he was profoundly interested. Busily employed as he was by Frederick, numerous as were the toilsome legations on which he was sent, he nevertheless found time to write a history of the reign of that monarch, which he began in 1452, and continued to work at it for more than three years. He also wrote Biographies of Illustrious Men, "A Who's Who," a remarkable series of character-sketches of the foremost people of his time. He also compiled data in reference to the various

[124]Pius II—opera omnia.

councils and doings of the many ecclesiastical posts held. All these works exhibit such encyclopaedic interest and such diversity of talent as almost to justify the eulogium of his friend Campano, who exclaims that 'Nature gathered up the distinctions of very many different men in this one personality."[125] No man of his day was more brilliant as an orator; he prepared his speeches carefully, held his audience spellbound, and however earnest in his exhortations, never failed to appreciate the effect he produced.

Piccolomini spent many years in Germany as an ecclesiastical ambassador. He found the scholars of that country pursuing dull, scholastic learning and dreary, worthless subtleties of civil and canon law. But his sympathetic nature and the breadth of his understanding enabled him to take a deep interest in the rude and rustic education of the Germans. He also wrote a History of Bohemia for Alfonso, a work giving an animated and even exciting account of the onslaught of the troops of united Europe on the Bohemian heretics and the heroic resistance they encountered. Here, as in the History of Frederick, Piccolomini differs from the chroniclers of his time by his keen perception of historical causes, thus anticipating in some measure the scientific methods of Macchiavelli and Guicciardini.

He made many speeches on many diversified subjects, before distinguished audiences. He was friendly, human, convivial, and an excellent correspondent. He was not only interested in the Italian expansion of education, but encouraged and outlined a set of definite steps or programs to be followed carefully and cautiously. These he directed to the Germans, Bohemians, Austrians, and others. As pope and educator he had much to do with the foundation of the Universities of Basle and Ingoldstadt, as well as those of Nantes and Rome.[126]

The influence of the Popes upon the universities of Europe

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[125]Campano, A. Vita Pii II P. 974.

[126]Milman, J. D. History of Latin Christianity, Volume VIII ch. 1.

2. *His Relation to the Universities*

has been repeatedly indicated by many historians of education.[126] It has been noted that universities were usually not founded without papal approval and that the popes were invariably friends and benefactors of the institutions of higher learning. Walsh says: "At all times the popes were scholarly patrons of learning and even when themselves not distinguished for scholarship, gathered scholars around them as a rule and encouraged education. A number of great popes did so much for scholarship in Italy during the revival of learning that their names will always be associated with it."[127]

A high degree of cooperation existed between the Church and civil authorities in the up-building of the Middle Ages, particularly in the great thirteenth century. During those ages of faith when men were preoccupied with the essentials of life, as they conceived them, and had clear conceptions from their own standpoint of the origin, destiny and duties of man, it was inevitable that such cooperation should exist between Church and State. Men knew that life cannot be cut in half; one part spiritual, one part political.

This comprehension was expressed throughout the whole life of the Middle Ages and may be read in the remains of Medieval institutions now existing. All of men's activities and works, social, economic, scientific, political, were informed and given direction by an understanding of the great spiritual realities that underlie existence.

This spirit, prevailed in the realm of learning, crowned study with the triple tiara of humility, obedience and charity. Men sought knowledge by the light of faith, and strove to find methods, through which knowledge could be used for the spiritual advancement of the human race.

Study thus pursued could not but merit the blessing and material help of Christ's Vicars. The doors of the Vatican

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[127]Walsh, J. J. The Popes and Science, pp. 139-141.

were ever open to the saintly scholars of the Christian schools; scholarly pontiffs were always ready with advice and open purse. And that their assistance was eagerly sought by rulers of every degree is amply evidenced in the history of the universities.

The working out of this cooperation between Church and State can be better understood through a brief examination of the method followed in the founding of a university.

Before the Reformation eighty-one universities had been established. Thirteen of them had no regular charter; they developed spontaneously; thirty-three had the papal charter alone; fifteen were founded by imperial or royal authority and twenty by both papal and imperial (or royal) charters.

It was recognized that an institution of learning in order to become a *studium generale,* (or university), required the authorization of the supreme authority: that is, the pope as head of the Church, or the emperor, as a protector of all Christendom. The reason for this is that the university was not to be simply a local or national institution, but a world-wide medium of erudition; its teachings and degrees were to be recognized throughout the Christian world.

In the civil order the emperor was supreme. He conferred on the universities founded by him, without papal charter, the right to grant degrees in all the faculties, including theology and canon law. These imperial charters were recognized by the pope, and whenever necessary, additional privileges were granted.

The powers of the kings were not so important. Although they could and did found universities, the degrees granted by them were valid only within the limits of the kingdom. In order to get the degrees universally recognized the kings had to seek papal action. This situation largely prevailed in Spain. The popes, on their part, recognized the royal charters as valid, and added to these the character of universality required for a "*studium generale,*" or university.

But over and above those considerations it happened fre-

quently that papal action was desired for another reason. It was that universities often found themselves in financial difficulties, and papal intervention was sought not only to confirm what the king had established, but to save and revive the university.

This occurred, for example, in the case of the universities of Palencia, Perpignan, and Huesca. These institutions, founded by rulers showed no vitality until aid was given them by Popes Honorius III, Clement VII, Julius II, and Pius II.

Similar assistance was extended by the popes to municipal institutions of learning, notably in Italy, where the free cities of Treviso, Pisa, Florence, and Siena undertook to found universities on their own initiative.

We have seen that the Church had almost entire control of education during the middle Ages. Through her influence, schools were established and maintained, learning was preserved, and the interests of civilization were promoted. Perhaps her greatest influence was in the founding of universities, though not to her alone were these institutions due. Laurie says:—"Now looking first to the germ out of which the universities grew, I think we must say that the universities may be regarded as a natural development of the cathedral and monastery schools; but if we seek for an external motive force urging men to undertake the more profound and independent study of the liberal arts, we can find it only in the Saracenic schools of Bagdad, Babylon, Alexandria, and Cordova. The Saracens were necessarily brought into contact with Greek literature, just when the Western church was drifting away from it; and by their translations of Hippocrates, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Galen, and other Greek classics, they restored what may be called the university life of the Greeks."[128] Some of the most famous and oldest universities are Salerno, Bologna, Padua, Pisa, Florence, Palencia, Siena, Naples, Paris,

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[128]Laurie, S. S. The Rise of Universities, pp. 91-94.

Oxford, Cambridge, Prague, Vienna, Heidelberg, Cologne, Erfurt, Leipsic.

These universities stimulated a desire for learning, created a respect for it, and began a movement toward free investigation and for the promulgation of liberal ideas, which gains strength with each decade of the world's history. They have immensely contributed to the growth of knowledge, to the advancement of science, and to the elevation of mankind.

(1) *The University of Siena*

Few cities in Europe at that time boasted more splendid buildings, few were cleaner or better ordered, nowhere had the civic spirit fuller manifestation than in Siena. Great public institutions, such as the Hospital of Santa Maria della Scala, were under communal management, and the university itself was a child of the Republic, its professors being chosen and paid by the State. Professor Rashdall (Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, volume II p. 34) says of Siena, "The most remarkable feature of this University throughout its history is the closeness of its dependence upon the town." The pride of the Sienese in their city also showed itself in such practical matters as the condition of the streets. Early in the fourteenth century the main thoroughfares were paved with brick, and the side streets with stones, while crooked alleys were gradually made straight, and narrow lanes widened or closed. There were strict laws against blocking up the streets and against throwing water or refuse out of the windows. Moreover every citizen was bound on pain of fine to sweep the space in front of his own house or place of business at least once a week. Thus in many ways Siena was a model to other cities of the day.

The University of Siena, which Piccolomini attended, was a great seat of learning. Since the year 1240, it had existed as a fully organized university and the Republic periodically strengthened its teaching staff by inviting professors from

other universities to occupy Chairs at Siena. Nevertheless, it stood at this moment somewhat outside the main current of learning in Italy. When the spirit of humanism was alive and abroad, and men turned to classical learning (Langdon D. Life in Old Siena p. 105) as to the very fountain of life, Siena still clung to the traditions and heritages of the medieval curriculum. The Seven Liberal Arts were regarded as the gateway to the three great Sciences,—Law, Medicine and Theology,—and it was to the study of the first of these that the energies of the University were chiefly directed. The spirit of humanism was, however, by no means absent from Siena. If the professed teachers of the classics were unresponsive to the new learning, there were others in the university who had been profoundly moved and swayed by it. Chief among these was the Professor of Jurisprudence, Mariano de Sozzini. Through Sozzini, Piccolomini learned something of what it meant to glory in the name of humanist.

The Professor of Jurisprudence, with his versatile talents and his boundless enthusiasm, was preeminently fitted to be an inspirer of youth. Piccolomini, on his side, ardent, impressionable, unflagging in his energy, must have been an ideal pupil.

In one of his letters Piccolomini writes of Mariano Sozzini: "Nature denied him nothing but stature. He is a little man and should belong to my family, which has the surname of Piccolomini (parvorum hominum). He is a man of eloquence and is versed in both Civil and Canon Law; he has knowledge of universal history and is a skillful poet, composing songs in both Latin and Greek. He is as learned in philosophy as Plato, and in geometry as Boetius, while in arithmetic he may be compared with Macrobius. He is a stranger to no musical instrument and knows almost as much of agriculture as Vergil. While the strength of youth remained in his limbs he was another Entellus; master in the games, he could not be surpassed in running, jumping, or boxing. . . . If the Gods had bequeathed to him stature and immortality, he would himself

have been a god. Yet no mortal man is endowed with every gift, and I know no man who lacks fewer than he."[129] To these manifold talents were added "the moral qualities which rule and guide others"[130] Sozzini was no mere scholar but an active citizen, whose sound judgment, ready hospitality and agreeable manners earned for him the esteem of his fellows. "While I was in Siena," concludes his admiring pupil, "I loved him above all others, and separation has not diminished my affection."[131]

The University experiences of Piccolomini were by no means confined to the sphere of learning. Siena, according to her chronicler, Sigismondo Tizio, was famed for the affability and hospitality of her inhabitants, the beauty and allurement of her women, and the love which her populace hath ever borne for festivals and games."[132]

3. *The Man of Letters*

Piccolomini played many parts in the course of his career, and a supple disposition enabled him to play each in turn with some degree of credit. But there was one rôle that made no demands upon his adaptability. He was a diplomatist, a historian, a biographer, an educator, and an ecclesiastic by necessity; he was a man of letters by nature. His friends urged him to "reject the codices of orators and historians, and to flee all manner of letters. Are you not ashamed, at your age, to possess neither lands nor money?" they said. "Do you not know that it behooves a man to be strong at twenty, wise at thirty, and rich at forty, and that he who passes these limits strives in vain?"[133] Piccolomini recognized the wisdom of their advice, but he was quite un-

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[129]Wolkan, R. A. S. Piccolomini to Kaspar Schlick, Vienna, 1444.
[130]Wolkan, R. Ep. 99.
[131]Wolkan, R. Ep. 153.
[132]Tizio, S. Storia Di Siena, MS in Siena Library p. 190.
[133]Jacobic C. Socini Benzi, Opera, Ep. 35.

able to follow it. Over and over again he determined to write, and this he did prolifically.

In the five years which followed the writing of the preface quoted above, Piccolomini's literary productions included a novel, a comedy, many poems, and treatises on such different subjects as the Authority of General Councils, the Nature and Care of Horses, Fortune, Crime and Punishment, Education, Recreation, and the Miseries of Courtiers.

As behooves a true humanist, he was interested in everything, and at no period were his writings confined to any one class of subject. Nevertheless, his literary development has three distinct phases. Like most young writers, he began by writing poetry. Later on the exigencies of his profession made him an essayist and pamphleteer. In the end he found his true vocation as an historian and biographer.

We learn from Goro Lolli[134] that Piccolomini was a prolific composer of verse in his student days. Some of his poems were in Latin, others were in Italian, and constructed on the model of Petrarca. Before he left Siena, Piccolomini wrote a poem entitled "Nymphilexis," in praise of one Battista, the mistress of Socino Benzi of Ferrara. It consisted, said the author, of "more than two thousand lines, but it has not survived to allow us to judge of its merits."[135] He also wrote in Latin a comedy imitating Terence, entitled, Chrises. The German Court, however, was not fruitful soil for poetry, and, as Piccolomini became engrossed in his profession he ceased to cultivate the poetic muse. From henceforth he wrote only occasional verse, epigrams on current events, love poems, or epitaphs in honor of departed friends. His quick sympathies combined with refined taste and facility of expression to render him an adept in the art of epitaph-making. The fine inscription which can still be seen on the tomb of Nicholas V, in the Vatican, is a conspicuous illustration of his talent.

134Lolli, G. Commentarii, Pii II, pp. 492-5.
135Cugnoni, S. Aeneas's Poems, pp. 342-370.

St. Albert's College Library

During his Pontificate Pius II composed hymns to the Blessed Virgin and to Saint Catherine of Siena. The solemn Litany which closes the congress of Mantua was Piccolomini's composition. Nevertheless, meagre as are the survivals of Piccolomini's art, they are sufficient to show that he was no poet. He writes as a man of letters, as a scholar and a stylist, but his poems lack spontaneity. The vein of true poetry which he undoubtedly possessed appears not in his verse, but in the unique and charming descriptions of natural scenery which are interspersed among his prose writings.

"It was the month of May, and everything was growing; the fields rejoiced, the woods were alive with the song of birds." So wrote Piccolomini when he was borne over the vast stretches of the Campagna, "golden with flowering bloom," and gay in its mantle of spring flowers, "now purple, now white, and now a thousand other hues."[136] Again it is a poet who speaks in Pius II's description of Nemi and her deep blue waters, so clear "that they reflect the image of the gazer," and which earned from the ancients the title of the Mirror of Diana. The lake, he says, lies hidden in a deep valley, and the surrounding slopes are a veritable forest of fruit trees. Some slopes are covered with chestnuts and others with hazels. There are diverse kinds of apple and below them the humble medlar, and the trees which bear pears, plums, and quinces. There is no more pleasant place in summer than these shady paths. It is the meet haunt of poets; nowhere would the poetic flame be kindled if it slumbered here. "It is the home of the Muse, the hiding place of nymphs. True is the legend which tells us that it is Diana's bower."[137] The man who could write thus had the poet's vision if he had not the poet's lyre. These descriptions of Italian scenery are prose idylls, springing from the heart of a lover.

Among his contemporaries Piccolomini was probably most celebrated as a pamphleteer. In the course of his career he

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[136]A. S. Piccolomini Commentarii, lib. VIII, p. 206
[137]Aeneas Silvius to Michael Pfullendorf 1444.

wrote a series of tracts upon the great ecclesiastical question of the day, the position and authority of General Councils. The cycle begins with his unqualified championship of the Conciliar Theory in the Dialogues composed at Basel about 1440, and it does not terminate until 1463, when the Bull *in minoribus agentes* proclaimed his final repudiation of the "Basel Heresy." Between these two extremes lie letters, essays, pamphlets, dialogues, and Bull which treat of the same subject from many and diverse points of view. Piccolomini's letter to his friend, Hartung von Keppel, and his dialogue entitled Pentalogues both belong to the year 1443. The object of the Pentalogues was to advocate the summons of a fresh congress for further discussion.

Three years later, in 1446, Piccolomini wrote the tract De Ortu et authoritate Romani Imperii, which is in some respects the most important of the Series. By this time he had declared himself decisively on the side of the papacy. His main object in this manuscript was to impart some degree of self-confidence to the Emperor, lest he should spoil the plans of the Papal party by an abject submission to the princes. In form, the De Ortu[138] is no mere pamphlet, but a treatise on political science. Beginning with a philosophical account of the origin of the State he shows that men were led by reason first to ordered society, and then kingship, as the sole means of restraining their selfish passions. "Thus the kingly power of Rome which we call the Holy Roman Empire derives its origin from that same human reason which is the source of all good living, and which all must obey."[139] His conception of the State is no other than the medieval theory of the Holy Roman Empire, in which Pope and Emperor rule as twin powers and potentates, supreme in their respective spheres. The treatise is based on the works of medieval publicists,—

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[138]Piccolomini, A. S. De Ortu et auctoritate Romani Imperii, p. 108.

[139]Piccolomini, A. S. Monarchia, p. 110.

St. Thomas Aquinas, Engellbert, and Jordanus of Osnabruck—while it borrows largely from Nicholas of Cusa. Cicero is its chief authority among the ancients, and there are traces of the influence of Sallust, Seneca, and Boethius. Its distinguishing feature is an unhesitating assertion of Imperial absolutism.

The Germania,[140] perhaps the most attractive of his polemical essays, was written to show the prosperity which Germany enjoyed under papal rule and the confusion into which she had been plunged by the champions of the conciliar movement.

The Bull Execrabilis,[141] which set its seal upon the proceedings at Mantua, may claim a place in the same cycle. So the cycle was completed and in it Piccolomini has left ample proof of his talents as a writer of political tracts. He was a master of rhetoric and of the literature of his day. His treatise on the Art of Rhetoric is demonstrably Aristotelean and Ciceronian.[142]

Piccolomini reveals himself in his essays as a man of letters, a gifted amateur in politics, a dilettante in matters ecclesiastical, and not as a political theorist or a theologian. His conception of philosophy is rather narrow and too traditional. It is a guide to right conduct, and a subject treated of by masters of style.

The value of Piccolomini's treatises lies less in his handling of the main subject than in the means which he uses for its presentment. What lives in the Germania is not the vindication of Papal policy, but the unrivalled description of Germany in the fifteenth century, in which the wealth of the author's knowledge and observation is laid under contribution to give an attractive and informing picture of every city, town, village and hamlet that he mentions. We read the Dialogues to-day not for the arguments in support of the conciliar movement,

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[140]Piccolomini, A. S. Germania, (printed in Fea) pp. 1-17.
[141]Piccolomini, A. S. Commentarii, lib. III. pp. 88-113.
[142]Piccolomini, A. S. Art of Rhetoric, 1446.

but for the sketch of daily life at Basel which they contain.

4. *Piccolomini as a Historian and Biographer*

Through every phase in his varied existence, Piccolomini had two main interests—his fellow-creatures and the world in which they lived. True child of the Renaissance, he played his part in the re-discovery of the world and the re-discovery of man. In his historical works his heart was in his subject, and here his literary greatness revealed itself. The universal springtime of the fifteenth century saw a new birth in the study of history and biography. In the Middle Ages, when the noblest minds sought escape from the world, the origin and conditions of European countries evoked little or no interest. When, however, with the dawn of the Renaissance, the world became something to be enjoyed and understood to the uttermost, the scholar who gloried in the name of humanist seized every possible opportunity of adding to his historical and geographical knowledge. The historians of antiquity held the first place in his esteem, but his very admiration for them inspired him to exercise his talents upon the record of contemporary events, in the hope of performing for his own age the services which the classical writers had rendered to the past. Among the host of Renaissance historians, none are more thoroughly imbued with the spirit of his age than the humanist pope. He, almost alone among his contemporaries, arose superior to the classical prejudices of the day, and thought it worth while to wade through uncouth masses of medieval material, in order to learn something of the peoples of Europe in their infancy. No period of the world's history seemed to him unworthy of a humanist's attention; therefore he applied himself to the study of the Middle Ages, and in so doing became the pioneer of a new development in historical writing. As an historian no less than as a statesman, he is a mirror of the Renaissance. His historical ideals are those of every humanist; his distinction lies in the personal gifts which

enabled him to put those ideals into practice. Untiring energy, wide sympathies, extraordinary powers of observation, a fine memory, an instinct for self-expression which made writing a necessity to him, these are some of the qualities which distinguish Piccolomini as a man of letters, and which give him a right to be enrolled in the company of modern historians.

Piccolomini had not been long at Basel before he conceived the idea of writing a history of the Council. As an introduction to his work, he produced an interesting account of the city and its surroundings. His wandering life as a secretary prevented him from carrying out his original intentions, and his first history was not written until 1440. Yet, throughout the intervening years, he was collecting material and improving his style by means of his letters. The Commentaries on the Council of Basel,[143] written in 1440, has the form of an historical work, but in substance it belongs to the preliminary collection of documents. Some ten years later, between 1448 and 1451, Piccolomini gave his final verdict upon the Conciliar movement in De Rebus Basiliee Gestis Comementarius. Here the author's object is to give a brief survey of the history of the Council of Basel, in order that posterity might know as he expresses it, "how in our days a schism was born and nourished, grew and expired."[144] De Rebus Basiliae Gestis forms a brilliant historical essay in which the graphic descriptions, ironic comments, and shrewd summaries of character are a heritage from the author's earlier writings, while the well-preserved proportions, sane judgment, and clear, terse style bear witness to his ripened powers. The sum total of Piccolomini's writings on the Council render him the principal authority on the subject to-day.[145]

The most productive years of Piccolomini's life, from a literary point of view, were those in which he was living in Rome as a Cardinal. As compared with his multifarious activities

[143]Commentaries of the Council of Basel, 1440, pp. 200-320.
[144]Commentaries of the Council of Basel, p. 19.
[145]DeRebus Basiliae Gestis, pp. 109-117.

at the Imperial Court and with the cares of his Pontificate, it was a time of leisure, while the libraries of Rome gave him access to books which he had coveted from his student days. The History of Frederick III and the History of Bohemia bear witness to the use which he made of years of respite from more arduous labors. Here again, the works which he brought to completion in Rome embody miscellaneous writings covering the whole period of his sojourn in Germany and bordering countries.

Neither the History of Bohemia[146] nor the History of Frederick III[147] are limited to the events of the author's own day. His main authorities for the early history of Bohemia are the chronicles of Pulkawa and Dalimil, and the ancient sagas, telling of Cech, Krok, and other legendary heroes of the Czech nation.

Pius II's accession to the Papacy might well be expected to have put an end to his literary work. But the habits of a lifetime are hard to set aside, and during the years of his Pontificate he dedicated to history hours that should have been spent in rest and sleep. His motive for writing a history of his Pontificate is characteristic both of himself and of his age. A true humanist in his thirst for glory, he longed for his name to live after him, and he considered it the plain duty of every ruler to take thought for his future reputation. In the case of a Pope this was all the more necessary, as the very prominence of his position placed him more at the mercy of envious tongues. But "envy will cease with death," and, with the disappearance of personal views which pervert justice, true fame will have its opportunity, "Pius will be praised among illustrious Popes."[148] Hence the man who all through his life had taken pleasure in explaining himself determined to provide

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[146]Piccolomini, A. S. Historia Bohemica (printed in opera, pp. 81-143).

[147]Piccolomini, A. S. Historia Frederici III (printed in Kollar, pp. 1-476).

[148]Carvajol, S. A. S. Piccolomini, p. 131.

posterity with the material upon which a true judgment of his character could be based. Thus Pius is himself the hero of his last and greatest historical work. This fact alone gives higher artistic value to the Commentaries than is possessed by his earlier writings. In the Commentaries the author's egoism can have full play, and, the more his personality predominates, the greater the unity of the whole.

The first book of Commentaries treats of the origins of the author's family, and gives a brief sketch of his career up to 1458; the remaining twelve books are devoted to the events of his Pontificate (Commentariorum Pii II Pont. Max., (Prefatio).[149] Yet we have here far more than a history of Pius II's brief reign. At every turn episodes are introduced relating to the history of those states and individuals with which the author came into contact. Pius stays at Florence on his way to Mantua, and so pauses in his narrative to explain the peculiar position of the Medici, and to enumerate the great men of all ages who have made Florence famous. The arrival of Francesco Sforza at Mantua provides the occasion for a digression on the Duchy of Milan in which the author relates how "the once powerful kingdom of Lombards, with its rich territories, passed to the Sforza, whose ancestors within the memory of our fathers hardly possessed as much land as they could till."[150] In the same way, the account of Pius II's negotiations with Louis XI over Pragmatic Sanction is prefaced by a sketch of French history which traces the origin of the Hundred Years War, and gives graphic descriptions of the battle of Agincourt, the murder of John of Burgundy, and career of Jeanne d'Arc. Thus the commentaries embody the experience and observation of a lifetime. There is hardly a great man of the day who does not figure in their pages; every phase of European politics is touched upon, and every im-

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[149]The references made here to the first twelve books are to be found in the Frankfort edition of 1614; the thirteenth is given by Voigt, Vol. 11, pp. 359-377.

[150]Piccolomini, A. S. Commentarii, lib. iii. p. 72.

portant town and village in Italy is described. And all is told in a style full of charm and individuality, in which the freshness of a medieval chronicler mingles with the critical spirit of a Renaissance scholar.

Throughout his historical writings Piccolomini emphasized the scientific approach of history. The discovery of truth is his primary object. "Not to deviate from the paths of truth," is the fundamental law which he dares not to break. Nowhere does he show himself more thoroughly modern than in his attempt to lay down rules for estimating the value of evidence. "All that is written must not necessarily be believed," he tells us, "and only the canonical Scriptures have undoubted authority. In other cases one must discover who the author is, what life he led, to what sect he belonged, and what is his personal worth. It is also necessary to consider with what other accounts he agrees, and from which he differs, and whether what he says is probable, and in accordance with the time and place of which he treats."[151] In the light of these maxims he refuses to believe the Bohemians once went about naked, lived on acorns, holding that the climate would make such costumes impossible. He dismisses the theory that the original Bohemians were among the builders of the town of Babel with the contemptuous remark that, "if the Bohemians were so anxious to prove their ancient heritage or lineage, they might as well trace their ancestry to Noah's ark, and to our first parents in Eden."[152] In answer to the suggestion that the name of Vienna came from *bienna,* the city having twice resisted the arms of Julius Caesar, he points out that no record of Caesar having fought in Austria is to be found in the Classical authorities.[153] The same spirit shows itself in his treatment of the problems of his own day. He will lay the facts before his readers, suggest alternative explanations, and

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151Piccolomini, A. S. Dialogues (Rome, 1475).
152Piccolomini, A. S. Historia Bohemica (Opera, p. 84)
153Piccolomini, A. S. Historia Frederici III, p. 8.

leave the ultimate verdict to posterity in a way that is quite startlingly modern.

Such in brief is the record of Piccolomini as a man of letters, historian, biographer, and statesman. His claim to greatness did not rest upon his work as pope or as poet or as historian or as an educator, but he possessed all these human qualities and capacities to enable him to succeed to a very reasonable degree.

VI.

SYSTEMATIC EXPOSITION OF PICCOLOMINI'S VIEWS.

(1) *First Steps in Instruction*

Piccolomini endeavored to persuade the Florentine and Sienese parents and tutors to include arithmetic, morals, grammar, and the vernacular in their instruction. He believed that the ability to interpret intelligently and to calculate were of inestimable value. He also emphasized the teaching of Latin, oratory, history, and geography.[154]

"Every child should read before reaching manhood at least Plutarch, Cicero, Sallust, and Livy.[155]

Without a thorough familiarity with the rudiments of arithmetic and grammar one's education remains incomplete. Furthermore the child cannot hope to understand intelligently Cicero's orations and other masterpieces unless he be adequately prepared.

Whatever else an education does or fails to do for the boy or girl, it ought certainly to inculcate in him a respect for this tremendous and noble heritage of ours, la madre lingua.

In brief, his notion is that any person should first of all have an intelligent command or comprehension of his language so that he can adequately and easily convey his ideas to others.

Literature is our guide to the true meaning of the past, to the right estimate of the present, to a sound forecast of the future. "Where letters cease, darkness covers the land; and a

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[154]Gerini, G. B. Gli Scrittori Pedagogici Italiani, pp. 78-102.
[155]Piccolomini, A. S. DeLiberorum, pp. 991.

Prince who cannot read the lessons of history is a helpless prey of flattery and intrigue."[156]

In the religious education of the child, the mother should have taught the child the Lord's Prayer, the Salutation of the Blessed Virgin, the Creed, the Gospel of St. John. He should also have been taught the Commandments of God, the Gifts of the Spirit, Sins and Penance and Salvation, and the doctrine of the life of the world to come. This he maintains was taught by Socrates and Cicero and also by the doctors of the church, such as St. Anselm, St. Ambrose, and St. Bernardino.

In his choice of companions and asosciates, the child should be taught to be careful in seeking his playmates.

"Extend your intimacy only to those of your own years, who are frank and truthful, pure in word and act, modest in manner, temperate and peaceful."[157]

"Seize every opportunity of learning to converse in the vulgar tongues spoken in your realm. It is unworthy of a prince to be unable without an interpreter to hold intercourse with his people."[158]

"Mithridates, for instance, could speak with his subjects from whatever section or province they came."

Piccolomini maintained that we must learn to express ourselves with distinction, with an elegance and delicacy of style worthy of knowledge.

In speaking Latin, barbarisms of all kinds need to be avoided. The term barbarism includes a variety of faults, partly against taste, partly against the standard usage of the day. "We should endeavor to imitate our ancestors." In referring to the ancients on Style he says:—

"Antiquity and authority demand our respect, for they carry with them a certain dignity of their own not to be lightly regarded. At the same time nothing is worse in a young writer than affectation; beware, therefore, of the forced

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156Piccolomini, A. S. De Liberorum, pp. 502.
157Boulton, Aeneas Sylvius, p. 172.
158Piccolomini, A. S. De Liberorum, p. 961.

imitation of an older style, and abstain from introducing words and expressions now obsolete. He recommends the following names for style; Lactantius, Augustine, Cicero, Quintilian, Livy, Sallust, Gregory, and Jerome."[159]

In his tract on The Education of Children (1451), Piccolomini is already a man of the Renaissance, since he recommends with enthusiasm the reading and study of most of the classical authors. However, he traces a scheme of studies relatively liberal. To quote from Compayré (History of Pedagogy, p. 80) "By the side of the humanities he places the sciences of geometry and arithmetic, which are necessary, he says, for training the mind and assuring rapidity of conceptions, and also history and geography. He had himself composed historical narratives accompanied by maps. The distrusts of an overstrained devotion were no longer felt by a teacher who wrote, there is nothing more precious or more beautiful than an enlightened intelligence."

(2) *The Vernacular*

Piccolomini became the first humanist-scholar who advocated the serious study of the vernacular by the teacher. His insistence on the mother's part in the education of children was accompanied by the conviction that the vernacular should be carefully taught to the child by the mother, who should thus in addition become nurse and teacher, and concentrate in herself all the material claims of affection. Accordingly, for her children's sake, if not for her own, she must be a book-reader, that she may teach her children and "make them good." As we have already seen, for two hundred years the Florentine mothers had passed on the language intact to Florentine children. Mothers are the guarantee of a national language, and it is therefore incumbent on them to impart that language, purely, and to see that, as far as they can control the surroundings, "no rude and blunt" speech gets a hold on the

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[159]Gerini, G. B. Gli Scrittori Pedagogici Italiani, pp. 89-92.

child. When children go to school, they are to speak "in their tongue (debbon parlare la madre lingua),[160] which was born in them in their home, and if they make mistakes in it, let the master correct them."[161] But the school problem we must remember, in Piccolomini's view, was a bilingual one. The children, therefore, having gained at home and at school the basis of their native language, must gradually add the study of Latin. "Quale scrittori si devona leggere?—i poeti, gli storici, i filosofi e gli oratori. La scelta pero deve fassi dal maestro." We must be careful not to confuse the vernacular with Latin. Piccolomini makes the concession that boys should be allowed to speak the vernacular out of school, "so that they may not accustom themselves in any way to make hotch-potch of the two languages." As the pupil advances in his study of Latin, he must be required to express his thoughts in Latin, for nothing is so important in learning a language as practice in speaking it.

It is often stated that the Italian humanists were indifferent to the claims of the vernacular in education. It is true that no specific place is given in schemes of school study to the technicalities of the language or to the great masters of Italian prose and poetry. The function of conversation as an instrument of cultivation and of actual linguistic acquirements has been long recognized in Latin countries, especially by the Italian humanists.

Piccolomini urges the teachers to be well trained in their native language. This is what Piccolomini urges in the following essential passage. "Let the teacher know the mother-tongue of the boys exactly so that by means of the mother tongue he may make his instruction more pleasant and easier for them. Unless he knows how to explain aptly and exactly in the vernacular what he wishes to speak about, he will easily mislead the boys, and these mistakes will accompany them

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[160]Patrizi, G. The Epistles of Piccolomini, pp. 120-139.
[161]Gerini, G. B. Gli Scrittori Pedagogici Italiani, p. 141.

when they are grown up. In short, he should be a Prefect of the treasury of his language, otherwise, in the multitudinous changes of a language, books written a century before will become unintelligible to posterity."[162]

Constant to his purpose of making all knowledge available and effective in every direction, Piccolomini, deserves credit for his advocacy of the use of the vernacular as far as possible for legal and social purposes. "All laws should be written and interpreted in the vernacular, and in intelligible and clear language"

Nothing, perhaps, shows more clearly the practical aspect of Piccolomini's attitude towards the vernacular than his advice to the maid in her prayers,—either she is to make use of the language which she comprehends or else get someone to interpret the Latin in the vernacular for her.

(3) *Eloquence and Expression*

The place of oratory is based upon the close study of the masterpieces of classical eloquence and the rhetorical treatises which have survived from antiquity. The high value attached to this art, not by scholars alone, but in public affairs, in diplomacy, in social and ceremonial functions, led to that elaborate study of ancient rhetoric which characterizes the Humanist schools. The speeches of Cicero or the rhetorical compositions inserted in the writings of Lucretius, Seneca, Quintilian, Sallust and Livy are the main oratorical material. Their value in education consists, in the eyes of the Humanists, first, in the profound moral lessons, civic and personal, therein enforced. Piccolomini, for example, looks upon eloquence as giving the emotional impulse to the individual will in carrying out in practice the principles suggested by philosophy and exemplified in history. Nowhere are virtues so persuasively set forth or vices so forcibly condemned. The power of argu-

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[162]Gerini, G. B. Gli Scrittori Pedagogici Italiani, p. 89.

ment is of prime importance for purposes of affairs, of legal debate, and of conversation. Eloquence, he terms, civilis scientiae quardam pais. It has three forms, deliberativum, indiciate, demonstrativum. Where can this be more fruitfully studied than in the forensic orations of Cicero? To enable a boy to realize the force of ancient oratory, he should be taken to hear some eloquent citizen, or great pleader in the Courts, or to some of the ecclesiastical conclaves. There he will perceive how gesture and delivery combine with logical skill to illustrate a case, and so learn to supply by imagination an element which is of necessity absent from recorded speeches. Lastly, the whole subject of style must be studied from Cicero and Quintilian. Cicero's oratorical treatises must all be studied, especially the De Oratore, which in the hands of Vittorino and Guarino formed one of the chief Latin text-books. Quintilian, also, should be in perpetual use as a guide and commentary upon Roman eloquence. But besides the classical writers, Lactantius, the Cicero of the Church, St. Ambrose, Ambrogio, Augustine and Jerome furnish material thoroughly sound in substance and acceptable in style. Concerning the orators, he says—"Riguardo agli autori—Benche sieno molti, il pui candido di tutti e nello stesso tempo abbastanza facile pei principianti e Cicerone; l'opera del quale intorno ai doveri, non solo utile, ma anche necessaria a giovani, deve essere completata colla lettura degli scritti sullo stesso argomento, di S. Ambrogio, di Lattanzio, di S. Agostino, e degli scrittori contemporanci, e raccamanda quelle di Leonardo Bruni, del Guarino, del Poggio e del Traversaro."[163]

Besides oratory, Piccolomini attached a great deal of importance to dignified expression. He says—"we must learn to express ourselves with distinction, with style and manner worthy of our subject. In a word eloquence is a prime accomplishment in one immersed in affairs. To express your-

[163]Gerini, G. B. Gli Scrittori Pedagogici Italiani, pp. 79-86.

self, then, with grace and distinction is a proper object of your ambition; and without ambition excellence, in this or other studies, is rarely attained."[164]

He divides the study of expression into four periods of four steps each. (Gerini, G. B. Gli Scrittori Pedagogi Italiani, p. 141).

The first deals with the subject to be read as a whole. It is called the colossal period, and is compared with the Egyptian period of art, which represented life in a very crude manner.

The second group of steps, dealing with the selection of material, and known as the melodramatic period in the readers development, may be said to stand for the Assyrian period of art, when the matter of detail was carried to extremes.

The third group or scheme in which the true relationship of the parts to the whole, the service of the parts, is borne in mind, represents the development which art reached in Greece, when the different parts of a statue no longer called attention to themselves, but helped to make a beautiful whole. This is what he calls the realistic period.

The highest stage of development in any art is the suggestive. In his program of expression this is the fourth period, and deals with the relation of the parts to each other. Piccolomini goes into details concerning the following steps in his scheme of Expression and Eloquence—animation, smoothness, volume, or power of voice, forming visual pictures, raising and lowering the voice, projection and distancing.

One cannot read far without recognizing many of the recommendations of Cicero and of Quintilian, or without understanding that education, as well as literature, underwent a real Renaissance in the fifteenth century. The Roman orator or public man was again the ideal of the educator with, of course, a broader intellectual equipment and a higher moral standard of excellence. "Great is eloquence," he once said, "and if truth, be told, nothing so much rules the world."[165]

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[164]Bale, J. The Pageants of Popes, p. 179.
[165]Piccolomini, A. S. Commentarii iii p. 9.

(4) *Moral Philosophy*

The virtues upon which most stress was laid by the Humanist teacher under review were reverence, obedience, self-restraint, modesty, and truthfulness. We find that both Alberti and Piccolomini insisted upon daily attendance at worship and other necessary duties of a good Christian. Piccolomini's great achievement was to effect a reconciliation between the Christian life and Humanist ideals; in this he was followed by other masters, though with less consistency. Piccolomini regarded the Humanist education as the training for Christian citizenship. He expressly encouraged a sense of responsibility towards the poor and suffering, and never forgot his civic obligation, and its religious sanction. (L. B. Gerini, Scrittori Pedagogici Italiani, p. 144) Reverence towards parents and elders, towards learning and goodness, regards for the higher courtesies of daily life, were regularly inculcated from the Bible and from antiquity; and any lapse into impiety or profane language was severely punished. Next to reverence, capacity for self-restraint appeals most strongly to Piccolomini.

It is gratifying to discover how well balanced is his conception of the relative values of the physical, intellectual, and moral elements in training. Like Vergerio, another humanist educator, Piccolomini is far from vague on this point. When treating of the mental endowments, he insists that with knowledge must go excellence; with wisdom, personal worth. Philosophy and letters are in consequence the important studies for all, not merely for princes, for they enable all to see the realities and appreciate the worth of the world around them. Literature, which with him comprehended history, was a necessary guide to the meaning of the poet and a right estimate of the future. Every age is blind, if it is without literature. Over and above knowledge, however, is character-training. Of its excellence the prince should have no doubt. "Learn to remember well: the one sure and stable possession with the living and the dead is character." His conception

of moral philosophy is best found in his De Liberorum Educatione p. 991.

"It is a guide to right conduct, and a subject treated of by masters of style." Respect towards women, love of home and children, reverence for old age, pity for the distressed, justice towards all; self-control in anger, restraint in indulgence, modesty in success, courage in misfortune—these are some of the virtues to which philosophy will lead you." So wrote Piccolomini in his treatise on Education, p. 992. His advice to young Ladislas for the study of the subject is to commit a few sentences from the best authors to memory daily.

One question, and that of vital importance in the fifteenth century, is therein decisively treated. It alone would have justified the production of the treatise, for it places on record the attitude of the churchman on the humanist educator's most difficult problem, namely, the teaching of the pagan classics to the Christian youth. Many churchmen had opposed the educational Renaissance wholly on the ground that its culture was from a moral view point unfit for the younger generation. They were partly right, for undoubtedly some of the humanists, in their enthusiasm for the classics, had shown little discrimination or prudence in the educational use of them. They failed to safeguard the Christian spirit and standard of morality when making the young familiar with ancient ideals of thought and life. Become pagan themselves, they spread a pernicious and demoralizing influence.

Piccolomini recognized this, however, as an abuse. He could see the human beauties of ancient literature, and believed in the possibility of coordinating the new culture with the Christian idea. He was in consequence somewhat impatient with those who decried the cult of the classics altogether. He knew that in commending classical poetry he would have many opponents in the North, many who would and actually did, quote even Cicero, Plato, and Boethius in support of their position, and who would banish the very names of the poets from Christian society. Such zealots made a pretense, accord-

ing to Piccolomini of preferring the theologians to the poets as proper reading for youth. He says they apparently forgot that the Fathers of the Church did not hesitate to quote from pagan writers, and so sanctioned its study; they even set up their authority against that of St. Paul, who availed himself of Epimenides to enforce a doctrine. If they condemn the classics for the errors they contain, how he asks, shall we treat the masters of theology. "What heresy has not found its beginning with them. Who propagated Arianism? Who separated the Greeks from the true church, if not the theologians?"

In this matter Piccolomini follows the advice of St. Basil, given in the fifth century, for the direction of Christian youth. He does not contend that all the classics are suitable to the youthful mind, any more than all the theologians are suitable to the Christian student. With St. Basil, he is to leave on one side their beliefs and superstitions, their false ideas of happiness, their defective standard of morals, and to accept all they can render in praise of integrity and in condemnation and suppression of vice; or with St. Jerome, while reading the ancient poets and philosophers, he is to absorb the things of life and beauty, leaving that which is but idolatry, error or lust, to pass to its natural decay. In short, Piccolomini would take from the classics whatever is excellent and tends to build up character.

There is no question of the place of virtue in this comparison with the educators of the nineteenth century. Their views on the subject were definite, though perhaps expressed by a different term. For Herbart, virtue or morality is the end of education (Herbart, J. F. Outlines of Educational Doctrine p. 7 Trans. by A. F. Lange New York, 1901). For Froebel, "Education should lead and guide man to clearness concerning himself and in himself to peace with Nature and unity with God." (Fröbel, F. The Education of Man, p. 5) Piccolomini says, "Sola utique pietas via est perficiendi hominis: quare haec una est rerum omnium necessaria" (Opera, Vol. p.

438). Piety is the means, he says, by which our eternal happiness, union with God, is to be accomplished. With this set forth as the highest aim of man, all training and education, according to Piccolomini, should have a virtuous and a religious tone. For Piccolomini, a virtuous man is one whose life is directed by well formulated rules. Piety is not only a general aim of all studies, but it is the aim of each particular subject pursued. Every subject which is open to the investigation of man is based upon the works of God and is therefore good in itself. According to the sacred writers, all branches of learning studied with the proper motives will lead us to God. This was the idea of Piccolomini. Knowledge pursued for fame, for riches, or to satisfy curiosity etc., was condemned by him. Every subject, before undertaken, should be weighed from the viewpoint of the help to be derived for the advancement of piety.

The parents, first of all, must be examples to their children of uprightness and piety. They must provide for a similar example in those to whom the care and instruction of the boy is confined. From the very beginning, the good should be brought before the mind of the child as the object of love, as something to be sought; the bad the object of hate, as something to be avoided. Piccolomini believes that fear is one source of power for the control of pupils and that without it there is little chance for the development of the virtuous in boys. When their minds are freed from this medium of control, boys wander about without restraint and fall into every kind of vice. If this is so, what opportunity is there for the development of the love of the good? Love and reverence, according to Piccolomini, should be the controlling factor.[166] If this is maintained at home there will be little trouble in maintaining it at school. If this should not be effective, recourse must be had to punishment.

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[166]De Liberorum, pp. 144-147.

Suitable passages should be chosen from Holy Scriptures, (Opera, Vol. I De disciplines, p. 370), passages which are, as it were, prescriptions against vice; these the pupil should be taught to accept as the word of God. He points out that children must be taught to love God and to regard Him as Master of all, to Whom they must render an account of their lives as they do to their teacher of the lessons of the school. There are various faults which are likely to show themselves at particular stages in a boy's growth. For these the teacher should be vigilant and fortified with remedies. In the study of nature the teacher has a special opportunity of setting forth the wondrous work of God and of leading the pupils to a deeper reverence and worship of Him.

(5) *Recreation*

All varieties of physical exercises were recommended to the children and adults, more particularly to the parents. Piccolomini also stressed such sports as boxing, racing, dancing, swimming and others. He not only recommended these to the men but also to the women. At that early day and generation, Pius II apparently was aware of the need of the right sort of exercise, especially during the period of adolescence. Piccolomini points out in his writings the need of sex instruction to the children of Siena and Florence.[167]

Exercises says he, should be taken gently, and regularly. We lay stress upon three directions for exercises, namely, slowness, precision, and definite aim. Piccolomini also stated that exercises, in order to have a greater individual effect, should be taken rhythmically and methodically. 'One should never start or stop too suddenly.' He claims that the ultimate aim of gymnastics is to develop the relationship of mind to body and is, therefore, 'physical and mental culture.'[168] The exercises

[167]Bale, J. The Pageants of Popes, p. 182.
[168]Piccolomini, A. S. De Liberorum, pp. 461-463.

should in their manifestation express the four attributes of all normal movements of the body, viz; life, affection, intelligence, and will. In brief, we must educate the body with reference to the intellect. There are many persons who have cultivated the intellect at the expense of the body. Many a person with his giant intellect or faculty, has starved the rest of the organism. Cultivated and uncultivated people should alike play; the refined and the unrefined should also take part in state games and contests,—not for fame or self-glorification, but for adequate and harmonious intellectual and physical development.

The chief noticeable result of exercises, aesthetically speaking, is that appearance of persons termed "good presence." The unity, dignity, and ease manifested in one while in repose are of the most potent and subtle nature. It is presence which seems to tell what the individual is, in his essential being. He who is perfectly poised suggests great moral weight.

Piccolomini also emphasized the particular advantages of Military Training. In his words: "Every youth destined to an exalted position for church or state should be trained in military tactics. It will be your destiny to defend Christendom from the Turks."[169]

Home training, according to Piccolomini, is to be devoted chiefly to the formation of right attitudes and habits, as for instance, in eating, drinking, and general behavior at the table. These habits should be thoroughly inculcated by the parents, preferably by the mother at this infantile stage of development. Wrong habits are almost ineradicable in later years. He also includes in this stage of childhood-training such things as general behavior with other children, obedience to all members of the family and respect for elders of the community. He mentions also the particular garments that children should wear,—'not too warm and torturous.' The ultimate aim of all this instruction was to give the child health

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[169]Voigt, G. Vol. III, pp. 54-57.

and happiness and to make him a virtuous, obedient and respectful citizen of God, Home and State.[170]

The Humanists were keenly alive to the importance of the first years of infancy in the general development of the child. This is also very true in our present day and age,—many of our sociological and psychological writers are devoting much of their time to pre-school education. Parent care is very essential in bringing up the child. The mother should act as nurse to her child; if resort must be had to outsiders, the greatest heed must be taken in their choice. Due regard should be given not to character alone, but to the manners, the speech, and the general appearance of the child. Beware of the faulty "accent" or "dialect" of all who surround the child. Rustic and uncouth provincial expressions are often acquired from the nurse and are with difficulty got rid of in later boyhood.

After infancy, the child begins to acquire knowledge and to form habits to develop physical characteristics. This training is still the important responsibility of the parent, more paricularly the mother, who should instil or impart the primary lessons of love towards God. Home and State together form the basis of future moral and civic stability.

As he endeavored to determine the boy's mental status and to give him work according to his capacity, so too he taught that the same kind of physical exercise ought not to be given to every boy nor to the same extent. Some students are robust, Piccolomini remarks, and not only can stand, but actually demand, strenuous exercise. Others are weak and undeveloped. These also need exercise, but exercise of a milder nature. Piccolomini suggests that out of doors is naturally the proper place for physical development. When the weather prevents this order, a means should be provided whereby it can be taken on porches or in wide halls. As boys grow older, stronger, and accustomed to physical work, more laborious tasks are

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[170]De Liberorum Educatione, pp. 379-391.

beneficial. The proper aim, i. e., the promotion of physical health and strength, is to be constantly stressed. Longer periods of time are required for games, brisk and vigorous walks, while those of shorter duration suffice for the vivification of judgment and enlivenment of the mind.

Nourishment, according to Piccolomini,[171] is a vital matter in the question of health. It should be wholesome because of its bearing upon the mental and physical conditions of the student. Not all can partake of the same kind of food. Regulation according to the disposition of the individual is imperative. "Exucci humestantibus utantur, pituitiosi calidis et arefacientibus; melancholici; contrarlis naturae illi quem extenuente spiritus ae hilariores reddant."[172] Piccolomini maintained that the sharpness of the mind and the memory's power of retention can be impaired or benefited according to the nature of the nourishment of the pupil. Regularity in eating is a point of no mean significance. He condemns both neglect of the body and also excessive care of the body. He proposes a golden mean, proper and adequate consideration for cleanliness, exercise and nourishment. The purpose of it is that both mind and body may be in a condition to function efficiently.

(6) *Environment*

The environment according to Piccolomini is that created by the best citizens, by those in fact who have been trained upon the lines of a sound education as set forth by Piccolomini. It is the inevitable qualification of all ideal moralities to postulate the conditions which it is desired to create.

What then are the disciplines by which a boy may be trained to live the optimum civic and social life as Piccolomini conceives it? Two factors are always of first rate importance in determining the choice of instruction: The first is

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171 Bale, J. The Pageants of Popes pp. 172-175.
172 Commentarii Lib. IX., p. 300.

St. Albert's College Library

environment, to which, as has been seen, Alberti and other Florentine writers also ascribe the chief weight in education. The second is nature, or inherited capacity. Yet even the most promising disposition, if left unguarded and without guidance, is useless, weak and ineffective, and skill and dexterity therefore are requisite to make the best of natural endowments.

In the choice of companions he urges the parents and tutors to be careful to seek for their children the society of those only whose example is worthy of imitation. This is a matter which closely concerns his or her future welfare. "Extend your intimacy only to those of your own years who are frank and truthful, pure in word and act, modest in manner, temperate, sincere and peaceful."[173] "We are all, in youth especially, in danger of yielding to the temptation and influence of evil example."[174]

The conformity of training to nature he illustrates from physical development. Every gesture and exercise which is out of harmony with natural action, and which therefore is ungraceful, must be wrong.[175]

The influence of environment in the development of the unstable child is perhaps the most interesting discussion from a modern point of view. An unstable child born of an unstable family "may by change of environment or what amounts to the same thing, as far as the child is concerned, by bettering its environment, become less nervous.[176]

Some parents are temperamental, irritable, and grow too angry with their children at the least provocation. This is detrimental to the child, making a profound imprint upon his mind. He further maintains that the child with brothers and sisters is far better off than the only child, because it has less

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[173]Bale, J. The Pageants of Popes, p. 183.
[174]Deliberorum, p. 507.
[175]Deliberorum Educatione, p. 962.
[176]Luisini, V. Pio. II, discorso detta nella catterdrale di Pienza.

time for self-contemplation, has to stand for its rights, absorbs a better understanding of human nature, learns to give and take, and becomes a less self-conscious and less idolized individual.[176]

7. *His Influence*

Few Popes, if any, have displayed greater versatility as a writer. Among the productions of Piccolomini are found a large number of poems, the efforts of his earlier years, historical and biographical treatises, and important geographical work, an autobiography, a drama, and a novel. His letters alone number 414 in the Basle edition of his works (1571). In educational influence, his Asia and his Europe[177] rank among the important works of the century. Christopher Columbus is said to have used it in his historical and geographical studies.[178] Aside from Columbus, this treatise aroused the interest of hundreds of explorers, and sent them forth to discover for themselves the lands which he had pictured. His Europa formed the basis of the sixteenth century cosmographies of Sebastian Franck, and Sebastian Münster.[179] From him have come, furthermore, two treatises bearing directly on education; one, in the form of a letter addressed to the Archduke Sigismund (1445), and the other addressed to Ladislas, the King of Hungary and Bohemia. The latter is the more comprehensive and important.[180]

Ladislas was only ten years old when Piccolomini addressed to him this tractate. He had been brought up in the court of Frederick III and was consequently well known to Piccolomini

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[177]Piccolomini, A. S. La descrizione dell'Asia, Venice 1554.
[178]McCormick, P. J. Pius II. pp. 122-131.
[179]Berg, A. W. Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini in seiner Bedutung als Geograph Halle, 1902.
[180]The latter appeared in the Basle edition of 1551, and with some additions in that of 1571. A translation of the earlier edition is now accessible to English readers in Woodward's Vittorino da Feltre and other Humanist Educators. Citations in this manuscript are taken from the edition of 1551.

as was also Kaspar Wendel, his tutor. Piccolomini evidently hoped to encourage the boy in his studies and tasks, and so add to Christendom a learned and virtuous ruler. Ladislas did not live to fulfill the hopes expressed for him. His reign was terminated by his sudden death at the age of eighteen. The treatise, however, like many others of the time, was prepared not merely for the benefit of the prince, but for the general public. It is of importance in demonstrating the interest of an experienced statesman in the training of youth, and it has the unique distinction of expressing the views of the leading churchmen and educators of that age on a question then of the greatest educational concern, namely, the place of the classics in the school curriculum.

The Renaissance revived interest in training the physical man. "Both body and soul, the two elements of which we are constituted," says Piccolomini, "must be developed in boys." He does not depreciate intellectual or moral formation, but nevertheless he takes up the physical first. One is struck by the remarkable resemblance between his expressions on this point and those of Locke, the distinguished advocate of physical training among English educators.[181] He aimed at producing vigorous habits of body that would last throughout life. "The boy is to cultivate a certain hardiness, which rejects excess of sleep and idleness in all its forms, for a delicate or soft upbringing enervates both body and soul."[182] So he would have him discard such luxuries as soft beds, or the wearing of silk instead of linen, next to the skin. The boy should indulge in games, all sports, in fact, that his fancy desired, unless they were offensive.

"I entirely approve that you with one of your equals engage in ball-playing, "[183] he said after generously recommend-

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[181]McCormick, P. J. Pius II, pp. 128-130.

[182]Woodward, W. H. Vittorino Da Feltre and other Humanist Educators.

[183]Woodward, W. H. Vittorino Da Feltre and other Humanist Educators.

ing play for recreation and excitement. There never was, however, any doubt of his viewpoint on the position of the humanities in education, nor of his zeal in encouraging and directing the right training of youth.

Piccolomini writes as a man concerned with the practical side of life, and with the social welfare of his day and age. He is not a professed scholar and not a school-master in the strict sense of the word. He occupies rather the position of the cultivated observant citizen who points out what the community looks for from education. He records his conviction that simplicity of life, respect for parental authority, devotion to public duty, are compatible with, and are adorned by, the antique wisdom. That the new age owes much already, and will owe much more, to the restored knowledge of Greece and Rome he confidently declares; and he is not affected by the conflict of moral ideals. In fine, he absorbed and assimilated, and then reproduced what he learnt from the classical past, in forms fit for the life of his own world, which he knew at first hand, which he desired to forward, amend and establish.

His own age judged Piccolomini mainly by his work as a statesman; the achievements of his pontificate formed the criterion of his greatness in contemporary eyes. Later generations, justly regarding him as first of all a man of letters, based their judgment principally upon his literary work. Yet the permanent importance of Pius II is not due to achievement in any sphere, it is rather the outcome of his personality. We remember him less for what he did, or for what he wrote, than for what he was. Both in theory and practice he is the complete humanist. In him we have the fullest illustration of the ideals of humanism, as conceived by the scholars, and as realized in active life. His sympathies and his aversions, his virtues and his vices, his weakness and his power, are all typical of humanism. Thus the study of his career gives us a unique insight into the ideals of the Renaissance world. His failure and his success help us to estimate the value of human-

ism as a contribution to civilization, as a phase in the intellectual and spiritual development of the European nations.

From the outset of his career, his general attitude towards life was that of the humanist. He looked upon the world as a field for his conquests, and he set out in life with the determination to capture the world by the simple means of adapting himself to its requirements. Humanism insisted that eloquence, tact, courtesy, and knowledge of his fellows were the all-important qualities which fitted a man to play his part in the world with success. Piccolomini possessed these gifts by nature, and he cultivated them persistently. Some looked upon him as an historian, others preferred to call him an artist, while many have failed for the past five centuries to recognize him as an educator. The majority of people knew him only as Pius II. But, be this as it may, no one can deny that the effect of humanism on his career was eminently successful. The rise of Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini from obscurity and poverty to the throne of S. Peter is a permanent witness to the strength of the humanist ideal.

VII.

AN ESTIMATE OF THE VIEWS OF ALBERTI AND PICCOLOMINI IN THE LIGHT OF MODERN EDUCATION, WITH CONCLUSIONS.

It was the intention of both Alberti and Piccolomini to secure for the Florentine children the harmonious development of mind, body, and morals, the same ideal as the Greeks and Romans sought in the Liberal Studies or Education. However, Alberti, was more of a follower of the Greeks than any of the Humanists of his day and age. Piccolomini, while emphasizing beauty for mental and physical culture, nevertheless was following the Roman concept of physical beauty, (i. e. strength). Both of these scholars emphasized the importance of the vernacular, of Greek and Latin grammar and composition, oratory, mathematics, history, and geography. Throughout their writings and speeches both of these men emphasized the need of early childhood training. They also pointed out the need for careful teaching and for imparting learning to the child by the parents. Parental care is of the utmost necessity for the up-bringing of children. The child immediately begins to imitate, and through social experience comes to know intimately the very motives and feelings of those with whom it is associated. Family life, that inner sanctuary of society, is so closely adjusted and the relations are so intimate that the question "of what character it is" becomes of transcendent importance: hence, there are two distinct reasons why the home is influential as an educational factor according to Alberti and Piccolomini: first, because the child spends here his most impressionable years, and second, because as a type of a social community its relations are very

close and influential. Now a home may be social or unsocial. Selfishness may reign supreme, or mutual love and consideration may diffuse themselves throughout the whole atmosphere. The home life should jealously guard and foster the best things of childhood, naturalness, simplicity in manner and dress, courtesy, not only to superiors but to servants. The child should be trained not only to receive but to give kindness. His sympathy for the poor and unfortunate should be awakened, and he should have experiences in judicious acts of giving. The home should be full of strong human interests. Parents owe it to their children and to society to surround themselves with such means of inspiration and culture as are found in the best books, choicest pictures, and the most uplifting music, so that their children may, as far as possible, find their pleasure and amusement in the home.

These early Renaissance notions of Alberti and Piccolomini are: to foster healthy bodies and alert minds, to teach children to look for the causes back of the effects in life, to instil right habits and right thinking,—in other words the preservation of health. The idea of prevention was emphasized by Alberti. "Prevenzione meglio della cura." It was the hygienic, "individual diagnostic," or more correctly the medical point of view. This was a decided change from the prevalent practices of the day. McCormick says: "One is struck by the remarkable resemblance between their expressions on this point and those of Locke, the distinguished advocate of physical training among English educators."[184] All these views are indeed modern principles of education of hygiene, and of public health. Both of these men have contributed greatly to educational principles. Perhaps, Alberti and Piccolomini and their predecessors are largely responsible for the modern conceptions of our curriculum, which include in the main Physical Education, Grammar, Mathematics, Language, History, Geography, and general science.[185]

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[184]McCormick, P. J. Pope Pius II, pp. 123-128.
[185]Gerini, G. B. Gli Scrittori Pedagogici Italiani pp. 66-69.

These men really deserve a more prominent place in our historical and philosophical educational courses. Some of their writings are still in the original and have not as yet been translated into either Italian or English or in any other language. The only available book especially concerning Alberti's views on education is Woodward's Education during the Renaissance.

Presumably there is a vast fund of knowledge gathered in some of these old manuscripts, such as, Piccolomini's "Biographies of Illustrious Men,"—a remarkable series of character sketches of the foremost people of his day. This is only one of the many writings that deal with education, geography, biography and history.

All the various enterprises of these two men exhibit such erudition and encyclopaedic interest and such diversity of talent as to justify the quotation of Campano—who said:—"Nature gathered up the distinctions of very many different men in these two personalities."[186]

In fine, Alberti's attitude towards the classical past was thoroughly individualistic. He absorbed, assimilated and then reproduced what he learnt in forms fit for the life of his day and age, which he desired to forward, amend, and establish. Deeply as he lamented the loss of the Latin language, or, as he calls it, "la bella lingua della civilazione antica,"[187] he upholds the Italian language as a worthy substitute. The plea of Alberti had the endorsement of a great many scholars of this time, chief among whom was Cristoforo Landino, who regarded Alberti as a chief proponent of the Italian language. As previously stated, he also imitated and re-introduced the versification of his predecessors.

Concerning mathematics, history, geography, music and natural sciences, Alberti was one of the first educators of the Italian Renaissance to demand their systematic treatment of the

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[186]Campano, A. Vita Pii II (Muratori, Rev. Ital. Script. iii pt. 2, page 974).
[187]Alberti, L. B. Della Famiglia, pp. 100-103.

tutor's program of study. Alberti in 1469 declared in his famous appeal: "I speak for myself, but if I had children of my own I would have them learn not only languages and history, but singing and instrumental music, and a full course of geography and mathematics as well."[188]

The education of women, as we have seen, was a subject which occupied Alberti in the later years of his life. He seems to have approached the question from the point of view of the uplifting of the home influences which mould the boy's early years. He demands a new standard of training for motherhood. Much as he deprecates the evil effects wrought by uncultivated and frivolous women upon the mind and character of young children, he recognizes what is implied in the loss of the finely tempered affection of the mother. He urges, therefore, for that type of women an education on classical lines, similar to that proposed by Lionardo Bruni, his contemporary and intimate associate. It is worth noting here that Alberti makes a striking appeal to the parents of Florence "to respect the judgment and the feelings of their daughters in the momentous decision between the religious and the married life."[189] The individual note here struck is unmistakably.

Finally to Alberti as to Piccolomini, training in moral duty and obedience were the highest ends of all education. The home alone can lay the foundations of character and the right development of the individual. Both Alberti and Piccolomini emphasize the view that "the fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of men, are the sanctions of the family bond."[190] The teaching of morals from ethicists, from historians, theologians, and poets forms no small part in the schemes of instruction of both Alberti and Piccolomini. Aside from all these educational views, Alberti made many contributions in almost every field of endeavor. Some of the outstanding ones are, as we have already noted, in various chapters of this discussion, the

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[188]Camaldulese Discussions, Vol. iii, p. 151.
[189]Alberti, L. B. De Iciarchia, ch. III.
[190]Albeti, L. B. Della Famiglia, pp. 217-222.

camera obscura, the theories of vision, the invention of lenses, the recorded systematic treatise on botany, the catapult and cofferdam, and various other militaristic and mechanical devices, and many mathematical treatises translated from the Saracen, Greek and Latin scholars. Alberti was also a great architect, sculptor and one of the greatest organists of his day and age. According to Buoncompagno[191] he was one of the founders of the Academy at Florence. Alberti was one of the profoundest aestheticians of his time, as well as the first to conceive of a botanical garden. In Woodward's words: "Alberti is representative of the freer, the originative stage of the Renaissance, when it was still possible for the man of letters to keep the right sense of proportion between the old and the new, and to conceive of progress as something more than a struggle to reproduce the historic past."[192]

The influences of Piccolomini as pope, geographer, historian, biographer, pamphleteer, poet, and educator has already been alluded to. Aside from this as previously stated he is chiefly responsible for the establishment of the Universities of Basel and Ingoldstadt, as well as those of Nantes and Rome.[193] He further enlarged and endowed the following Universities during his Papacy—Florence, Pisa, Padua, Siena, Pavia and Naples.[194] Dr. Walsh in reference to Piccolomini says; "Pope Pius II whose name Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, is famous forever in the annals of scholarship, was himself a distinguished scholar who owed his advancement to the Papacy not a little to his reputation for scholarliness."[195]

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[191]Buoncompagno, P. Bolletino Buoncompagno.
[192]Woodward, W. H. Studies in Education, p. 64.
[193]Milman, J. D. History of Latin Christianity, Vol. VIII, ch. 1.
[194]Weiss, A. A. S. Piccolomini, pp. 19-27.
[195]What Civilization Owes to Italy, p. 141.

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